



A
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
OF THE
E U R O P E A N S
IN THE
EAST AND WEST INDIES.

REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND PUBLISHED,
IN TEN VOLUMES,
BY THE ABBÉ RAYNAL.

NEWLY TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,
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C O N T E N T S

OF THE

SIXTH VOLUME.

B O O K XVIII.

	Page
<i>ENGLISH Colonies founded in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. General Reflections on all these Settlements,</i>	1
Parallel between a bad and a good government,	1b.
The Quakers found Pennsylvania. Manners of that sect,	3
Origin and character of the Quakers,	6
Foundation of Pennsylvania by Penn. Principles of his legislation,	10
Prosperity of Pennsylvania,	14
Present state of Philadelphia,	25
Origin of Maryland. Nature of it's government,	31
Events which have happened at Maryland,	33
Present state of Maryland. It's cultures,	34
What Maryland may become,	40
In what manner Virginia was established, and by whom,	41
Obstacles to the prosperity of Virginia,	44
Population, trade, and manners of Virginia,	51
Origin of the two Carolinas Their first, and their last government, both civil and religious,	56
Conformities between the two Carolinas,	61
What	

C O N T E N T S.

	Page
What distinguishes North Carolina,	62
What distinguishes South Carolina,	67
By whom, upon what occasion, and in what manner, Georgia was founded,	72
Impediments that have prevented the progress of Georgia,	76
Situation, and exportations of Georgia,	81
Florida becomes a Spanish possession,	82
Florida is ceded to Great Britain by the court of Madrid,	87
What hath been done by England, and what she may expect to do in Florida,	88
Extent of the British dominions in North America,	94
Trees peculiar to North America,	96
Birds peculiar to North America,	99
Europe supplies North America with domestic animals,	101
European grain hath been cultivated in North America,	1b
North America hath supplied Europe with naval stores,	103
The iron of North America hath been conveyed into our climates,	106
Can it be expected that wine and silk will prosper in North America,	108
With what kind of men the provinces of North America were peopled,	111
To what degree the population of North America hath arisen,	123
Manners prevailing at present in North America,	125
Nature of the governments established in North America,	127
The coin that has been current in the English colonies in North America,	136
Regulations to which the internal industry, and the external trade of North America had been subjected,	137
Distressed state of England in 1763,	142
England call it's colonies to it's assistance,	143
England exacts from her colonies what she ought only to have asked of them,	150
	England,

C O N T E N T S.

	Page
England, after having given way, wishes to be obeyed by it's colonies. Measures which they take to resist it's authority, -	153
The colonies had a right to separate themselves from their mother-country, even if they had no cause of discontent, -	161
What measures would it have suited England to adopt, when she saw the ferment raised in her colonies, -	177
England resolves to reduce the colonies by force, -	187
The colonies break the ties which united them to England; and declare themselves independent to that country, -	195
War begins between the United States and England, -	202
What is the reason that the English have not succeeded in subduing the confederate provinces, -	207
Why have not the confederate provinces succeeded in driving the English from the continent of America, -	214
France acknowledges the independence of the United States. This step occasions a war between that crown and the crown of England, -	221
Spain, not having succeeded in conciliating England with France, declares for the latter of these powers, -	234
What ought to be the policy of the house of Bourbon, should it be victorious, -	240
What idea must be formed of the thirteen confederated provinces, -	244

B O O K XIX.

<i>Recapitulation,</i> - - -	250
Religion, - - -	ib.
Government, - - -	261
Policy, - - -	354
War, - - -	369
Navy, - - -	388
Commerce, - - -	404
Agriculture, - - -	436
Manufactures, - - -	450
	Popu-

C O N T E N T S.

	Page
Population, - - -	462
Taxes, - - -	479
Fine Arts, and Belles Lettres, -	520
Philosophy, - - -	537
Morals, - - -	548
Reflections upon the good and the evil which the discovery of the New World hath done to Eu- rope, - - -	566

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
 OF THE
 EUROPEANS
 IN THE
 EAST AND WEST INDIES.

BOOK XVIII.

English Colonies founded in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. General Reflections on all these Settlements.

NO society was ever founded on injustice. BOOK XVIII
 A people formed by a compact so extraordinary, would have been, at the same time, both Parallel
 the most degraded and the most unfortunate of between a
 people. Declared enemies of the human race, bad and a
 they would equally have been intitled to compas- good go-
 sion, from the sentiments they would have inspired, vernment
 and those they would have experienced. Feared
 and hated by all surrounding powers, they would
 have incessantly been agitated by the same pas-
 sions. Their misfortunes would have excited
 universal joy, and their prosperity general afflic-
 tion. The nations would one day have united

BOOK XVIII. to exterminate them; but time would have rendered this league useless. It would have been sufficient for their annihilation, and for the avenging of other nations, that each of their members should have modelled his conduct upon the maxims of the state. Animated with the spirit of their institution, they would all have been eager to raise themselves upon the ruin of each other. No measure would have appeared too odious for this purpose. This would have been realising the fable of the race engendered from the teeth of the dragon, which Cadmus sowed upon the earth, and which was destroyed as soon as created.

How different would be the destiny of an empire founded on virtue! Agriculture, the arts, the sciences, and commerce, improved under the protection of peace, would have expelled idleness, ignorance, and misery. The chief of the state would have protected the different ranks of men in the state, and would have been adored. He would have understood that not one of the society could suffer, without some injury to the whole body, and therefore he would have attended to the happiness of all. Impartial equity would insure the observation of the treaties which it had dictated; the stability of laws, which it had simplified, and the distribution of taxes, which it would have proportioned to the public expences. All the neighbouring powers, interested in the preservation of this people, would arm in their defence, upon the least danger which should threaten them. But in default of foreign succours, they might themselves oppose, to the unjust aggressor, the impenetrable barrier of a rich and numerous people, for whom the word Country would not merely be a nominal idea.

This

This is what may be called imaginary excellence BOOK
XVIII.
in politics.

THESE two sorts of government are equally unknown in the annals of the world; which present us with nothing but imperfect sketches, more or less resembling the atrocious sublimity, or more or less distant from the affecting beauty of one or the other of these great portraits. The nations which have made the most splendid figure on the theatre of the world, actuated by destructive ambition, have displayed a greater resemblance to the former. Others, more wise in their constitution, more simple in their manners, more limited in their views, and enveloped, if we may use the expression, with a kind of secret happiness, seemed to be more conformable to the second. Among the latter Pennsylvania may be reckoned.

LUTHERANISM, which was destined to cause a remarkable change in Europe, either by its own influence, or by the example it gave, had occasioned a great ferment in the minds of all men; when there arose, in the midst of the commotions it excited, a new religion, which, at first, appeared much more like a rebellion guided by fanaticism, then like a sect that was governed by any fixed principle. The generality of innovators in religion follow a regular system, composed of doctrines connected with each other; and contend, at first, only to defend them; till persecution irritates and stimulates them to rebellion, so that at length they have recourse to arms. The Anabaptists, on the contrary, as if they had only looked into the bible for the word of command to attack, lifted up the standard of rebellion, before they had agreed upon a system of doctrine. It is true, indeed, their leaders had taught, that it was a ridiculous and useless practice to admi-

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nister

BOOK XVIII. nister baptism to infants, and asserted that their opinion upon this point was the same as that of the primitive church; but they had not yet ever reduced to practice this article of belief, which was the only one that furnished a pretence for their separation. The spirit of sedition prevented them from paying a proper attention to the schismatic tenets, on which their division was founded. To shake off the tyrannical yoke of church and state, was their law and their faith. To enlist in the armies of the Lord, to join with the faithful, who were to wield the sword of Gideon, this was their device, their motive, and their signal for rallying.

It was not till after they had carried fire and sword into a great part of Germany, that the Anabaptists thought of giving some basis and some connection to their creed, and of marking and cementing their confederacy by some visible sign of union. Having been united at first by inspiration to raise a body of troops, in 1525 they were united to compose a religious code.

IN this mixed system of intoleration and mildness, the Anabaptist church, being the only one in which the pure word of God is taught, neither can nor ought to communicate with any other.

THE spirit of the Lord blowing wheresoever it listeth, the power of preaching is not limited to one order of the faithful, but is dispensed to all. Every one likewise has the gift of prophecy.

EVERY sect which hath not preserved a community of all things which constituted the life and spirit of primitive Christianity, has degenerated, and is for that reason an impure society.

MAGISTRATES are useless in a society of the truly faithful. A Christian never has occasion for any; nor is a Christian allowed to be one himself.

CHRISTIANS are not permitted to take up arms BOOK
XVIII.
even in their own defence, much less is it lawful for them to enlist as soldiers in mercenary armies.

BOTH law-suits and oaths are forbidden the disciples of Christ, who has commanded them to let their yea, be yea, and their nay, nay.

THE baptism of infants is an invention of the devil and the pope. The validity of baptism depends upon the voluntary consent of adults, who alone are able to receive it with a consciousness of the engagement they take upon themselves.

SUCH was in it's origin the religious system of the Anabaptists. Though it appears founded on charity and mildness, yet it produced nothing but violence and iniquity. The chimerical idea of an equality of stations, is the most dangerous one that can be adopted in a civilized society. To preach this system to the people, is not to put them in mind of their rights; it is leading them on to assassination and plunder. It is letting domestic animals loose, and transforming them into wild beasts. The rulers of the people must be more enlightened, or the laws by which they are governed must be softened; but there is in fact no such thing in nature as a real equality; it exists only in the system of equity. Even the savages themselves are not equal when once they are collected into hords. They are only so while they wander in the woods; and even then the man who suffers the produce of his chase to be taken from him, is not the equal of him who deprives him of it. Such has been the origin of all societies.

A DOCTRINE, the basis of which was the community of goods and equality of ranks, was hardly calculated to find partisans any where but
among

B O O K among the poor. The peasants therefore adopted it with the greater enthusiasm, in proportion as the yoke from which it delivered them was more insupportable. The far greater part, especially those who were condemned to slavery, rose up in arms on all sides, to support a doctrine, which, from being vassals, made them equal to their lords. The apprehension of seeing one of the first bands of society, obedience to the magistrate, broken, united all other sects against them, who could not subsist without subordination. After having carried on a more obstinate resistance than could have been expected, they yielded at length to the number of their enemies. Their sect, notwithstanding it had made it's way all over Germany, and into a part of the North, was nowhere prevalent, because it had been every where opposed and dispersed. It was but just tolerated in those countries, in which the greatest latitude of opinion was allowed; and there was not any state in which it was able to settle a church, authorized by the civil power. This of course weakened it, and from obscurity it fell into contempt. It's only glory is that of having, perhaps, contributed to the foundation of the sect of quakers.

Origin and character of the Quakers. This humane and peaceable sect arose in England, amidst the confusions of that bloody war, which terminated in a monarch's being dragged to the scaffold by his own subjects. The founder of it, George Fox, was of the lower class of the people; a man who had been formerly a mechanic, but whom a singular and contemplative turn of mind had induced to quit his employment. In order to wean himself entirely from all earthly affections, he broke off all connections with his own family; and for fear of being tempted to renew them, he determined to have no fixed abode.

abode. He often wandered alone in the woods, without any other amusement but his bible. In time he even learned to go without that, when he thought he had acquired from it a degree of inspiration similar to that of the apostles and the prophets. BOOK
XVIII.

He then began to think of making proselytes, in which he found no difficulty in a country where the minds of all men were filled and disturbed with enthusiastic notions. He was, therefore, soon followed by a multitude of disciples, the novelty and singularity of whose opinions, upon incomprehensible subjects, could not fail of attracting and fascinating all those who were fond of the marvellous.

THE first thing by which they caught the eye, was the simplicity of their dress, in which there was no gold or silver lace, no embroidery, laces, or ruffles, and from which they affected to banish every thing that was superfluous or unnecessary. They would not suffer either a button in the hat, or a plate in the coat, because it was possible to do without them. Such an extraordinary contempt for established modes reminded those who adopted it, that it became them to be more virtuous than the rest of men, from whom they distinguished themselves by this external modesty.

ALL outward marks of deference, which the pride and tyranny of mankind exact from those who are unable to refuse them, were disdained by the quakers, who disclaimed the names of master and servant. They condemned all titles, as being tokens of pride in those who claimed them, and of meanness in those who bestowed them. They did not allow to any person whatever the appellation of eminence or excellence, and so far they might be in the right; but they refused to comply with those reciprocal demonstrations of respect

BOOK XVIII respect which we call politeness, and in this they were to blame. The name of friend, they said, was not to be refused by one christian or citizen to another, but the ceremony of bowing they considered as ridiculous and troublesome. To pull off the hat they held to be a want of respect to a man's self, in order to shew it to others. They carried this idea so far, that even the magistrates could not compel them to any external mark of reverence; but they addressed both them and princes according to the ancient majesty of language, in the second person and in the singular number; and they justified this license by the custom of these very persons who were offended at it, and who used to address their saints and their God in the same manner.

THE austerity of their morals ennobled the singularity of their manners. The use of arms, considered in every light, appeared a crime to them. If it were to attack, it was violating the laws of humanity, if to defend one's self, it was breaking through those of christianity. Universal peace was the gospel they had agreed to profess. If any one smote a quaker upon one cheek, he immediately presented the other; if any one asked him for his coat, he offered his waistcoat too. Nothing could engage these equitable men to demand more than the lawful price for their work, or to take less than what they demanded. An oath, even before a magistrate, and in support of a just cause, they deemed to be a profanation of the name of God, in any of the wretched disputes that arise between weak and perishable beings.

THE contempt they entertained for the outward forms of politeness in civil life, was changed into aversion for the ritual and ceremonial parts of religion. They looked upon churches merely as the often-

BOOK into his party, in order to conciliate to himself a higher degree of respect and consideration; but they either eluded his invitations, or rejected them; and he afterwards confessed, that this was the only religion which was not to be influenced by bribery.

Founda-
tion of
Pennsylva-
nia by
Penn.
Principles
of his le-
gislation.

• AMONG the several persons who cast a temporary lustre on the sect, the only one who deserves to be remembered by posterity, is William Penn. He was the son of an admiral, who had been fortunate enough to be equally distinguished by Cromwell, and the two Stuarts, who held the reins of government after him. This able seaman, more supple and more insinuating than men of his profession usually are, had made several considerable advances to government in the different expeditions in which he had been engaged. The misfortunes of the times had not admitted of the repayment of these loans during his life, and as affairs were not in a better situation at his death, it was proposed to his son, that instead of money, he should accept of an immense territory in America. It was a country, which, though long since discovered and surrounded by English colonies, had always been neglected. A spirit of benevolence made him accept with pleasure this kind of patrimony, which was ceded to him almost as a sovereignty, and he determined to make it the abode of virtue, and the asylum of the unfortunate. With this generous design, towards the end of the year 1681, he set sail for his new possessions, which from that time took the name of Pennsylvania. All the quakers were desirous to follow him, in order to avoid the persecution raised against them by the clergy, on account of their not complying with the tithes and other ecclesiastical fees; but from prudential motives

tives he declined taking over any more than two thousand. BOOK
XVIII.

His arrival in the New World was signalized by an act of equity, which made his person and principles equally beloved. Not thoroughly satisfied with the right given him to his extensive territory, by the grant he had received of it from the British ministry, he determined to make it his own property by purchasing it of the natives. The price he gave to the savages is not known; but though some people accuse them of stupidity for consenting to part with what they never ought to have alienated upon any terms; yet Penn is not less entitled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and justice in America, which was never thought of before by the Europeans. He rendered himself as much as possible a legal possessor of the territory, and by the use he made of it supplied any deficiency there might be in the validity of his title. The Americans entertained as great an affection for his colony, as they had conceived an aversion for all those which had been founded in their neighbourhood without their consent. From that time there arose a mutual confidence between the two people, founded upon good faith, which nothing has ever been able to shake.

PENN's humanity could not be confined to the savages only, it extended itself to all those who were desirous of living under his laws. Sensible that the happiness of the people depended upon the nature of the legislation, he founded his upon those two first principles of public splendour and private felicity, liberty and property. If it were allowed to borrow the language of fable, with respect to an account that seems to be fabulous, we should say, that Astræa, who had been gone up into heaven for so long a time, was now come down

BOOK

XVIII.

down upon earth again, and that the reign of innocence and concord was going to be revived among mankind. The mind of the writer and of his reader dwells with pleasure on this part of modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, horror, or melancholy, which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European settlements in America, inspires. Hitherto we have only seen these barbarians depopulating the country before they took possession of it, and laying every thing waste before they cultivated it. It is time to observe the dawnings of reason, happiness, and humanity, rising from among the ruins of a hemisphere, which still teems with the blood of all it's people, civilized as well as savage.

THE virtuous legislator made toleration the basis of his society. He admitted every man who acknowledged a God to the rights of a citizen, and made every christian eligible to state employments. But he left every one at liberty to invoke the Supreme Being as he thought proper, and neither established a reigning church in Pennsylvania, nor exacted contributions for building places of public worship, nor compelled any persons to attend them.

PENN, attached to his name, was desirous that the property of the settlement which he had formed should remain in perpetuity to his family; but he deprived them of any decisive influence in the public resolutions, and ordained, that they should not exercise any act of authority without the concurrence of the deputies of the people. All the citizens who had an interest in the law, by having one in the object of it, were to be electors, and might be chosen. To avoid as much as possible every kind of corruption, it was ordained that the representatives should be chosen by suf-

frages

frages privately given. To establish a law, a BOOK XVIII. plurality of voices was sufficient; but a majority of two-thirds was necessary to settle a tax. Such a tax as this was certainly more like a free gift than a subsidy demanded by government; but was it possible to grant less indulgences to men who were come so far in search of peace?

SUCH was the opinion of that real philosopher Penn. He gave a thousand acres to all those who could afford to pay 450 livres * for them. Every one who could not, obtained for himself, his wife, each of his children above sixteen years old, and each of his servants, fifty acres of land, for the annual quit-rent of one sol ten deniers and a half † per acre. Fifty acres were also given to every citizen who when he was of age, consented to pay an annual tribute of two livres five sols ‡.

To fix these properties for ever, he established tribunals to maintain the laws made for the preservation of property. But it is not protecting the property of lands to make those who are in possession of them purchase the decree of justice that secures them: for in that case every individual is obliged to part with some of his property, in order to secure the rest; and law, when protracted, exhausts the very treasures it should preserve, and the property it should defend. Lest any persons should be found whose interest it might be to encourage or prolong law-suits, he forbade under very strict penalties all those who were engaged in the administration of justice, to receive any salary or gratuity whatsoever. And further, every district was obliged to chuse three arbitrators, whose business it was to endeavour to prevent, and accommodate, any disputes that might happen, before they were carried into a court of justice.

* 161. 15s. . . † About 1d. . . ‡ 12. 10d. h.

BOOK
XVIII.

THIS attention to prevent law-suits sprang from the desire of preventing crimes. All the laws, that they might have no vices to punish, were calculated to put a stop to them even in their very sources, poverty and idleness. It was enacted that every child above twelve years old, should be obliged to learn a profession, let his condition be what it would. This regulation, at the same time that it secured the poor man a subsistence, furnished the rich man with a resource against every reverse of fortune, preserved the natural equality of mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance his original estimation, which is that of labour, either of the mind or of the body.

VIRTUE had never perhaps inspired a legislation better calculated to promote the felicity of mankind. The opinions, the sentiments, and the morals corrected whatever might be defective in it, and remedied any part of it that might be imperfect. Accordingly, the prosperity of Pennsylvania was very rapid. This republic, without either wars, conquests, struggles, or any of those revolutions which attract the eyes of the vulgar, soon excited the admiration of the whole universe. It's neighbours, notwithstanding their savage state, were softened by the sweetness of it's manners, and distant nations, notwithstanding their corruption, paid homage to it's virtues. All were delighted to see those heroic days of antiquity realized, which European manners and laws had long taught every one to consider as entirely fabulous.

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PENNSYLVANIA is defended on the east by the ocean, on the north by New-York and New-Jersey, on the south by Virginia and Maryland, on the west by the Indians; on all sides by friends, and within itself by the virtue of it's inhabitants.

habitants. It's coasts, which are at first very narrow, extend gradually to 120 miles, and the breadth of it, which has no other limits than it's population and culture, already comprehends 145 miles. BOOK
XVIII.

PENNSYLVANIA PROPER, is divided into eleven countries, Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester, Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Bucks, Northampton, Bedford, Northumberland, and Westmoreland.

In the same region, the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, form a distinct government, but are regulated on the same principles.

THE sky of the colony is pure and serene, and the climate, naturally very wholesome, has been rendered still more so by cultivation; the waters, equally salubrious and clear, always flow upon a bed of rock or sand: and the year is tempered by the regular return of the seasons. Winter, which begins in the month of January, lasts till the end of March. As it is seldom accompanied with clouds or fogs, the cold is, generally speaking, moderate; sometimes, however, sharp enough to freeze the largest rivers in a night's time. This change, which is as short as it is sudden, is occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow from the mountains and lakes of Canada. The spring is ushered in by soft rains and a gentle heat, which increases gradually till the end of June. The heats of the dog-days would be insupportable, were it not for the refreshing breezes of the south-west wind, which afford almost a constant relief.

THOUGH the country be unequal, it is not on that account less fertile. The soil in some places consists of a yellow and black sand, in others it is gravelly, and sometimes it is a greyish ash-colour upon a stony bottom; generally speaking, it is

BOOK XVIII. is a rich earth, particularly between the rivulets, which, intersecting it in all directions, contribute more to the fertility of the country than navigable rivers would.

WHEN the Europeans first came into the country, they found nothing but wood for building, and iron mines. In process of time, by cutting down the trees, and clearing the ground, they covered it with innumerable herds, a great variety of fruits, plantations of flax and hemp, many kinds of vegetables, every sort of grain, and especially wheat and maize; which a happy experience had shewn to be particularly proper to the climate. Cultivation was carried on in all parts with such vigour and success as excited the astonishment of all nations.

FROM whence could arise this extraordinary prosperity? From that civil and religious liberty, which have attracted the Swedes, Dutch, French, and particularly some laborious Germans, into that country. It has been the joint work of Quakers, Anabaptists, members of the Church of England, Methodists, Presbyterians, Moravians, Lutherans, and Catholics.

AMONG the numerous sects which abound in this country, a very distinguished one is that of the Dimplers. It was founded by a German, who, weary of the world, retired to an agreeable solitude within fifty miles of Philadelphia, in order to be more at liberty to give himself up to contemplation. Curiosity brought several of his countrymen to visit his retreat, and by degrees his pious, simple, and peaceable manners induced them to settle near him, and they all formed a little colony which they called Euphrates, in allusion to the Hebrews, who used to sing psalms on the borders of that river.

THIS

ed at the public expence. They repay this by the produce of their labours, which is all thrown into the public treasury, and their children are sent to be educated in the mother-country. Without this wise privilege, the Dumplers would be no better than monks, and in process of time would become either savages or libertines. BOOK
XVIII.

THE most edifying, and at the same time the most extraordinary circumstance, is the harmony that subsists between all the sects established in Pennsylvania, notwithstanding the difference of their religious opinions. Though not all of the same church, they all love and cherish one another as children of the same father. They have *always continued to live like brethren, because they had the liberty of thinking as men.* To this delightful harmony must be attributed more particularly the rapid progress of the colony.

AT the beginning of the year 1774, the population of this settlement amounted to three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, according to the calculations of the general congress. It must however be acknowledged, that thirty thousand Negroes made part of this numerous population; but truth also requires us to say, that slavery, in this province, hath not been a source of corruption, as it hath always been, and always will be, in societies that are not so well regulated. The manners are still pure, and even austere, in Pennsylvania. Is this singular advantage to be ascribed to the climate, the laws, the religion, the emulation constantly subsisting between the different sects, or to some other particular cause? Let the reader determine this question.

THE Pennsylvanians are in general well made, and their women of an agreeable figure. As they sooner become mothers than in Europe, they sooner cease breeding. If the heat of the climate

BOOK seems on the one hand to hasten the operations
 of nature, it's inconstancy weakens them on the
 other. There is no place where the temperature
 of the sky is more uncertain, for it sometimes
 changes five or six times in the same day.

As, however, these varieties have neither any
 dangerous influence upon animals, nor even upon
 vegetables, and as they do not destroy the har-
 vests, there is a constant plenty, and an universal
 appearance of easy circumstances. The œcono-
 my which is so particularly attended to in Penn-
 sylvania, does not prevent both sexes from being
 well-clothed; and their food is still preferable in
 it's kind to their clothing. The families whose
 circumstances are the least easy, have all of them
 bread, meat, cyder, beer, and rum. A very
 great number are able to afford to drink con-
 stantly French and Spanish wines, punch, and
 even liquors of a higher price. The abuse of
 these strong drinks is less frequent than in other
 places, but is not without example.

The pleasing views of this abundance is never
 disturbed by the melancholy appearance of pover-
 ty. There are no poor in all Pennsylvania. All
 those whose birth or fortune have left them with-
 out resources, are suitably provided for out of the
 public treasury. The spirit of benevolence is car-
 ried still farther, and is extended even to the most
 engaging hospitality. A traveller is welcome to
 stop in any place, without the apprehensions of
 giving the least uneasy sensation, except that of
 regret for his departure.

The happiness of the colony is not disturbed
 by the oppressive burden of taxes. In 1766, they
 did not amount to more than 280,140 livres*.
 Most of them, even those that were designed to
 repair the damages of war, were to cease in 1772.

If the people did not experience this alleviation at that period, it was owing to the irruptions of the savages, which had occasioned extraordinary expences. This trifling inconvenience would not have been attended to, if Penn's family could have been prevailed upon to contribute to the public expences, in proportion to the revenue they obtained from the province: a circumstance required by the inhabitants, and which in equity they ought to have complied with.

THE Pennsylvanians, happy possessors, and peaceable tenants, of a country that usually renders them twenty or thirty fold for whatever they lay out upon it, are not restrained by fear from the *propagation of their species*. There is hardly an unmarried person to be met with in the country. Marriage is the more happy and the more revered for it; the freedom as well as the sanctity of it depends upon the choice of the parties; they chuse the lawyer and the priest rather as witnesses, than as the means to cement their engagement. Whenever two lovers meet with any opposition, they go off on horseback together, the man gets behind his mistress, and in this situation they present themselves before the magistrate, where the girl declares she has run away with her lover, and that they are come to be married. So solemn an avowal cannot be rejected, nor has any person a right to give them any molestation. In all other cases, paternal authority is excessive. The head of a family, whose affairs are involved, is allowed to sell his children to his creditors; a punishment one should imagine very sufficient to induce an affectionate father to attend to his affairs. An adult discharges in one year's service a debt of 112 livres 10 sols*; children under twelve years of age are obliged to serve till they are one and

* 4l. 13s 9d.

BOOK
XVIII. twenty, in order to pay off the same sum. This is an image of the old patriarchal manners of the east.

THOUGH there be several villages, and even some cities in the colony, most of the inhabitants may be said to live separately, as it were, within their families. Every proprietor of land has his house in the midst of a large plantation, entirely surrounded with quickset hedges. Of course each parish is near twelve or fifteen leagues in circumference. This distance of the churches makes the ceremonies of religion have little effect, and still less influence. Children are not baptised till a few months, and sometimes not till a year or two after their birth.

ALL the pomp of religion seems to be reserved for the last honours man receives before he is shut up in the grave for ever. As soon as any person is dead in the country, the nearest neighbours have notice given them of the day of the burial. These spread it in the habitations next to their's, and within a few hours the news is thus conveyed to a distance. Every family sends at least one person to attend the funeral. As they come in, they are presented with punch and cake. When the assembly is complete, the corpse is carried to the burying-ground belonging to his sect, or if that should be at too great a distance, into one of the fields belonging to the family. There is generally a train of four or five hundred persons on horseback, who observe a continual silence, and have all the external appearance suitable to the melancholy nature of the ceremony. One singular circumstance is, that the Pennsylvanians, who are the greatest enemies to parade during their lives, seem to forget this character of modesty at their deaths. They are all desirous that the poor remains of their short lives should be attended with

with a funeral pomp proportioned to their rank or fortune. It is a general observation, that plain and virtuous people, even those that are savage and poor, pay great attention to the ordering of their funerals. The reason is, that they look upon these last honours as duties of the survivors, and the duties themselves as so many distinct proofs of that principle of love, which is very strong in private families while they are in a state nearest to that of nature. It is not the dying man himself who exacts these honours; his parents, his wife, his children, voluntarily pay them to the ashes of a husband and father that has deserved to be lamented. These ceremonies have always more numerous attendants in small societies than in large ones, because though there are fewer families upon the whole, the number of individuals there is much larger, and all the ties that connect them with each other are much stronger. This kind of intimate union has been the reason why so many small nations have overcome larger ones; it drove Xerxes and the Persians out of Greece, and it will some time or other expel the French from Corsica.

BUT from whence does Pennsylvania get the articles necessary for her own consumption, and in what manner does she contrive to be abundantly furnished with them? With the flax and hemp that is produced at home, and the cotton she procures from South America, she fabricates a great quantity of ordinary linens; and with the wool that comes from Europe she manufactures many coarse cloths. Whatever her own industry is not able to furnish, she purchases with the produce of her territory. Her ships carry over to the English, French, Dutch, and Danish islands, biscuit, flour, butter, cheese, tallow, vegetables, fruits, salt meat, cyder, beer, and all sorts of wood for building.

BOOK XVIII. building. The cotton, sugar, coffee, brandy, and money received in exchange, are so many materials for a fresh commerce with the mother-country, and with other European nations as well as with other colonies. The Azores, Madeira, the Canaries, Spain and Portugal, open an advantageous market for the corn and wood of Pennsylvania, which they purchase with wine and piastres. The mother-country receives from Pennsylvania, iron, flax, leather, furs, linseed, masts and yards, for which it returns thread, fine cloths, tea, Irish and India linens, hardware, and other articles of luxury or necessity. But all these branches of trade have been hitherto prejudicial to the colony, though it can neither be censured nor commiserated on this account. - Whatever measures may be adopted, it is unavoidably necessary that rising states should contract debts; and the one we are now speaking of will remain in debt as long as the clearing of the lands requires greater expences than the produce will enable it to answer. Other colonies, which enjoy almost exclusively some branches of trade, such as rice, tobacco, and indigo, must have grown rich very rapidly. Pennsylvania, the riches of which are founded on agriculture and the increase of her flocks, will acquire them more gradually; but her prosperity will be fixed upon a more firm and permanent basis.

If any circumstance can retard the progress of the colony, it must be the irregular manner in which the plantations are formed. Penn's family, who are the proprietors of all the lands, grant them indiscriminately in all parts, and in as large a proportion as they are required, provided they are paid 112 livres 10 sols * for each hundred acres, and that the purchasers agree to give an

annual rent of 22 sols 6 deniers*. The consequence of this is, that the province wants that sort of connection which is so necessary in all establishments, and that the scattered inhabitants easily become the prey of the most insignificant enemy that ventures to attack them. BOOK XVIII.

THERE are different ways of clearing the lands which are followed in the colony. Sometimes a huntsman will settle in the midst of a forest, or quite close to it. His nearest neighbours assist him in cutting down trees, and placing them one above another: and this constitutes a house. Around this spot he cultivates, without any assistance, a garden or a field, sufficient to subsist himself and his family.

A FEW years after the first labours are finished, some more active or richer men arrive from the mother-country. They indemnify the huntsman for his labour, and agree with the proprietors of the provinces for some lands that have not yet been paid for. They build more commodious habitations, and clear a greater extent of territory.

At length some Germans, who come into the New World from inclination, or are driven into it by persecution, complete these settlements that are as yet unfinished. The first and second order of planters remove into other parts, with a more considerable stock for carrying on agriculture than they had at first.

IN 1767, the exports of Pennsylvania amounted to 13,164,439 livres 5 sols 3 deniers†; and they have since increased much more considerably in that colony than in any other.

PHILADELPHIA; or *the city of Brothers*, is the center of this great trade. This famous city is Present state of Philadelphia.

* 18s. 4d. far. † About 548,518l. 6s. 3d. three farthings.

BOOK XVIII situated at the conflux of the Delaware and the Schuylkill, at the distance of 120 miles from the sea. Penn, who destined it for the metropolis of a great empire, designed it to be one mile in breadth and two in length between the rivers; but it's population has proved insufficient to cover this extent of ground. Hitherto the banks of the Delaware are only built upon; but without giving up the ideas of the legislator, or deviating from his plan. These precautions are highly proper. Philadelphia must become the most considerable city of America, because the colony must necessarily improve greatly, and it's productions must pass through the harbour of the capital before they arrive at the sea.

THE streets of Philadelphia, which are all regular, are from fifty to a hundred feet broad. On each side of them there are foot-paths defended by posts, placed at different distances.

THE houses, each of which has it's garden and orchard, are commonly three stories high, and are built of brick. The present buildings have received an additional decoration from a kind of marble of different colours, which is found about a mile out of the town. Of this, tables, chimney-pieces, and other household furniture are made; besides which, it is become rather a considerable article of commerce with the greatest part of America.

THESE valuable materials could not have been found in common, in the houses, unless they had been lavished in the churches. Every sect has it's own church, and some of them have several. But there are a number of citizens, who have neither churches, priests, nor any public form of worship, and who are still happy, humane and virtuous.

THE town-house is a building holden in as much B O O K
 veneration, though not so much frequented as ^{XVIII}
 the churches. It is constructed with the greatest
 magnificence. There the legislators of the colony
 assemble every year, and more frequently if ne-
 cessary, to settle every thing relative to public
 business. These men of trust are here supplied
 with every publication that may give them any
 information respecting government, trade, and
 administration. Next to the town-house is a
 most elegant library, formed in 1732, under the
 care of the learned Dr. Franklin, and consisting of
 the best English, with several French and Latin
 authors. It is only open to the public on Satur-
 days. The founders have free access to it at all
 times. Others pay a trifle for the loan of the
 books, and a forfeit if they be not returned at a
 stated time. This little fund, which is constantly
 accumulating, is appropriated to the increase of
 the library, to which have been lately added, in
 order to make it more useful, some mathematical
 and philosophical instruments, with a very fine
 cabinet of natural history.

Not far from this there is another monument
 of the same nature. This consists of a fine col-
 lection of Greek and Latin classics, with their
 most esteemed commentators, and of the best
 performances that have graced the modern lan-
 guages. This library was bequeathed to the pub-
 lic, in 1752, by the learned and generous citizen
 Logan, who had spent a long and laborious life
 in collecting it.

THE college, which is intended to prepare the
 mind for the attainment of all the sciences, owed
 it's rise, in 1749, to the labours of Dr. Franklin,
 whose name stands always recorded among the
 great or useful things, accomplished in this coun-
 try which gave him birth. At first, it only ini-
 tiated

BOOK XVIII. ^{tiated the youth in the belles lettres; but medi-}
 cine, chymistry, botany, and natural philosophy,
 have been since taught there. Knowledge of
 every kind, and masters in every science, will in-
 crease, in proportion as the lands, which are be-
 come their patrimony, shall yield a greater pro-
 duce. If ever despotism, superstition, or war,
 should plunge Europe again into that state of bar-
 barism out of which philosophy and the arts have
 extricated it, the sacred fire will be kept alive in
 Philadelphia, and come from thence to enlighten
 the world.

This city is amply supplied with every assistance
 human nature can require, and with all the re-
 sources industry can make use of. It's quays, the
 principal of which is two hundred feet wide, pre-
 sent a suite of convenient warehouses, and docks
 ingeniously contrived for ship-building. Ships of
 five hundred tons may land there without any dif-
 ficulty, except in times of frost. There, is taken
 on board the merchandise which has either been
 brought by the rivers Schuylkill and Delaware, or
 carried along better roads than are to be met with
 in most parts of Europe. Police has made a
 greater progress in this part of the New World,
 than among the most ancient nations of the
 Old.

It is impossible to determine precisely the popu-
 lation of Philadelphia, as the bills of mortality are
 not kept with any exactness, and there are several
 sects who do not christen their children. It ap-
 pears, however, that in 1766 it contained 20,000
 inhabitants. As most of them are employed in
 the sale of the productions of the colony, and in
 supplying it with what they draw from abroad,
 their fortunes must necessarily be very consider-
 able; and they must increase still further, in pro-
 portion as the cultivation advances in a country
 where

where not above one-sixth of the land has hitherto been cleared. BOOK
XVIII

PHILADELPHIA, as well as the other cities of Pennsylvania, is entirely open. The whole country is equally without defence. This is a necessary consequence of the principles of the Quakers. These sectaries cannot be too much favoured, on account of their modesty, probity, love of labour, and benevolence. One might, perhaps, be tempted to accuse their legislation of imprudence and temerity.

It may, perhaps, be said, that when the founders of the colony established that civil security which protects one citizen from another, they should also have established that political security, which protects one state from the incroachments of another. The authority which hath been exerted to maintain peace and good order at home, seems to have done nothing, if it has not prevented invasion from abroad. To pretend that the colony would never have enemies, was to suppose the world peopled with Quakers. It was encouraging the strong to fall upon the weak, leaving the lamb to the mercy of the wolf, and submitting the whole country to the oppressive yoke of the first tyrant who should think proper to subdue it.

BUT on the other hand, how shall we reconcile the strictness of the gospel maxims, by which the Quakers are literally governed, with those military preparations, either offensive or defensive, which maintain a continual state of war between all Christian nations? Besides, what could the enemy do, if they were to enter Pennsylvania sword in hand? Unless they massacred, in the space of a night or a day's time, all the inhabitants of that fortunate region, they would not be able totally to extirpate the race of those mild and charitable men. Violence has it's boundaries in it's very excess,

BOOK

XVIII.

cess; it is consumed and extinguished, as the fire in the ashes that feed it. But virtue, when guided by humanity and by the spirit of benevolence, is revived as the tree under the edge of the pruning-knife. The wicked stand in need of numbers to execute their sanguinary projects. But the Quaker, who is a good man, wants only a brother from whom he may receive, or to whom he may give assistance. Let then the warlike nations, let people who are either slaves or tyrants, go into Pennsylvania; there they will find all avenues open to them, all property at their disposal; not a single soldier, but numbers of merchants and farmers. But if these inhabitants be tormented, restrained, or oppressed, they will fly, and leave their lands uncultivated, their manufactures destroyed, and their warehouses empty. They will cultivate, and spread population in some new land; they will go round the world rather than turn their arms against their pursuers, or submit to bear their yoke. Their enemies will have only gained the hatred of mankind, and the execration of posterity.

MAY I not be deceived in what I have advanced; and may I not have mistaken the wishes of my heart for a decree of truth! I am distressed even at the bare suspicion. Fortunate and wise country! art thou then one day to experience the fatal destiny of other countries? art thou to be ravaged and subdued as they have been? Far be it from me to entertain a presage that might tend to invalidate, in my mind, the most comfortable of all ideas; that there exists a providence who watches over the preservation of the good! Nor let the numerous events which seem to depose the contrary have any influence over me!

It is upon this prospect that the Pennsylvanians have founded their opinion of their future security. Besides, as they do not perceive that the most warlike states are the most permanent; that mistrust, which is ever upon it's guard, makes men rest with greater tranquillity, or that there can be any satisfaction in the possession of any thing that is kept with such apprehensions; they enjoy the present moment without any concern for the future. The people of Maryland are of a different opinion.

CHARLES the First, far from having any aver-
 sion for the Catholics, as his predecessors, had
 some reason to protect them, from the zeal which;
 in hopes of being tolerated, they had shewn for
 his interest. But when the accusation of being
 favourable to popery had alienated the minds of
 the people from that weak prince, whose chief
 aim was to establish a despotic government, he
 was obliged to give the Catholics up to the rigour
 of the laws enacted against them by Henry the
 Eighth. These circumstances induced Lord Bal-
 timore to seek an asylum in Virginia, where he
 might be indulged in a liberty of conscience. As
 he found there no toleration for an exclusive sys-
 tem of faith, which was itself intolerant, he
 formed the design of a new settlement in that un-
 inhabited part of the country, which lay between
 the river of Potowmack and Pennsylvania. His
 death, which happened soon after he had obtained
 powers from the crown for peopling this land,
 put a stop to the project for that time; but it was
 resumed, from the same religious motives, by his
 son. This young nobleman left England in the
 year 1633, with two hundred Roman Catholics,
 most of them of good families. The education
 they had received, the cause of religion for which
 they had left their country, and the fortune which
 their

BOOK
XVIII.

their leader promised them, prevented those disturbances which are but too common in infant settlements. The neighbouring savages, won by mildness and acts of beneficence, concurred with eagerness to assist the new colonists in forming their settlement. With this unexpected help, these fortunate persons, attached to each other by the same principles of religion, and directed by the prudent counsels of their chief, applied themselves unanimously to every kind of useful labour: the view of the peace and happiness they enjoyed, invited among them a number of men who were either persecuted for the same religion, or for different opinions. The Catholics of Maryland gave up at length the intolerant principles, of which they themselves had been the victims, after having first set the example of them, and opened the doors of their colony to all sects, of what religious principles soever. They all enjoyed the rights of a city in the same extent; and the government was modelled upon that of the mother-country.

THESE wise precautions, however, did not secure Baltimore, at the time of the subversion of the monarchy, from losing all the concessions he had obtained. Deprived of his possessions by Cromwell, he was restored to them by Charles the Second; after which they were again disputed with him. Though he was perfectly clear from any reproach of mal-administration; and though he was extremely zealous for the *Tramontane* doctrines, and much attached to the interests of the Stuarts; yet he had the mortification of finding the legality of his charter attacked under the arbitrary reign of James II. and of being obliged to maintain an action at law for the jurisdiction of a province which had been ceded to him by the crown, and which he himself had formed at his

his own expence. This prince, whose misfortune it had always been not to distinguish his friends from his foes, and who had also the ridiculous pride to think that regal authority was sufficient to justify every act of violence, was preparing a second time to deprive Baltimore of what had been given him by the two kings, his father and brother, when he was himself removed from the throne which he was so unfit to fill. The successor of this weak despotic prince terminated this contest, which had arisen before his accession to the crown, in a manner worthy of his political character: he left the Baltimores in possession of their revenues, but deprived them of their authority. When this family, who were more regardless of the prejudices of religion, became members of the church of England, they were reinstated in the hereditary government of Maryland; they began again to conduct the colony, assisted by a council, and two deputies chosen by each district.

FORTUNATELY for itself, Maryland hath been less fruitful in events than any other settlement formed in the Northern continent. There are only two facts worthy of being recorded in its history.

BERKLEY, extravagantly zealous for the church of England, expelled from Virginia those among its inhabitants who did not profess this mode of worship; and they were obliged to seek an asylum in the province we are now speaking of. The Virginians were highly incensed at the favourable reception which these people met with; and in the first rage of an unjust resentment, they persuaded the savages that their new neighbours were Spaniards. This odious name entirely changed the sentiments of the Indians; and, without deliberation, they ravaged the grounds

BOOK XVIII. which they had assisted in clearing; and massacred, without mercy, those very men whom they had just received in a brotherly manner. It required a great deal of time, and patience, and many sacrifices, before these prejudiced minds could be convinced of their mistake.

BALTIMORE, attending more to his reason than to the prejudices of education, granted an equal share in the government to every different professor of Christianity. The Catholics were excluded from it, at the memorable period when this nobleman was deprived of his authority. The British ministry either could not, or would not put a stop to this act of fanaticism. It exerted its influence only in preventing the founders of the colony from being driven out of it, and the penal laws, which were not even attended to in England, from being enforced.

Present
state of
Maryland.
Its cul-
tures.

The province is very well watered. A number of springs are found in it, and it is intersected by five navigable rivers. The air, which is much too damp upon the coasts, becomes pure, light, and thin, in proportion as the soil becomes more elevated. Spring and autumn are most agreeably temperate; but in the winter there are some exceedingly cold days; and in summer, some in which the heat is very troublesome. The circumstance, however, which is the least supportable in this country, is the great quantity of disgusting insects that are found there.

MARYLAND is one of the smallest provinces of North America: and accordingly, grants have been made of almost all the territory, both in the plains and upon the mountains. They remained for a long time either fallow, or very ill cultivated; but the labours have increased, since the population, according to the calculation of congress, hath

hath amounted to three hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants. BOOK XVIII.

SEVERAL of these are Catholics, and a great many more are Germans. Their manners have more mildness than energy; and this may arise from the women not being excluded from society, as in most of the other parts of the continent. The men who are free, and not very rich, who are settled upon the high grounds, and who originally bred no flocks, cut no wood, and cultivated no corn, but for the use of the colony, have gradually furnished a great quantity of these articles to the West Indies. The prosperity, however, of the colony, hath been more particularly owen to the slaves employed at a greater or less distance from the sea, in the plantations of tobacco.

THIS is a sharp caustic plant; formerly much used, as it still is, sometimes in medicine, which, if taken inwardly, in substance, is a real poison, more or less active, according to the dose. It is chewed, smoked in the leaves; and is in more general use as snuff.

It was discovered in the year 1520 near Tabasco, in the Gulph of Mexico, from whence it was carried to the neighbouring islands. It was soon after introduced in our climates, where the use of it became a matter of dispute among the learned, which even the ignorant took a part in; and thus tobacco acquired celebrity. By degrees fashion and custom have greatly extended it's consumption in all parts of the known world.

THE stem of this plant is streight, hairy, and viscous. It is three or four feet high. It's leaves, equally downy, and disposed alternately on the stem, are thick, pulpy, of a pale green, broad, oval, terminating in a point, and much larger at

BOOK XVIII. the foot than at the summit of the plant. This summit branches out into clusters of flowers of a light purple hue. Their tubular calix, which hath five indentations, incloses a corolla, lengthened out in form of a funnel, spread out at the top, divided into five parts, and furnished with as many stamina. The pistil, concealed at the bottom of the flower, and terminated by a single style, becomes, as it ripens, a capsula, with two cavities filled with small seeds.

Tobacco requires a moderately binding soil, but rich, even, deep, and not too much exposed to inundations. A virgin soil is very proper for this plant, which absords a great deal of moisture.

The seeds of the tobacco are sown upon beds. When it is grown to the height of two inches, and hath got at least half a dozen leaves, it is gently pulled up, in damp weather, and transplanted, with great care, into a well prepared soil, where the plants are placed at the distance of three feet from each other. When they are put into the ground with these preparations, their leaves do not suffer the least injury; and all their vigour is renewed in four-and-twenty hours.

The cultivation of tobacco requires continual attention. The weeds which grow round it must be plucked up; the top of it must be cut off, when it is two feet and a half from the ground, to prevent it from growing too high; it must be stripped of all sprouting suckers; the leaves which grow too near the bottom of the stem, those that are in the least inclined to decay, and those which the insects have touched, must all be taken off, and their number reduced to eight or ten at most. One industrious man is able to take care of two thousand six hundred plants, which

which ought to yield one thousand weight of tobacco. BOOK
XVIII.

THE plant is left about four months in the ground. As it advances to maturity, the pleasant and lively green colour of it's leaves is changed into a darker hue; the leaves are also curved, the scent of them grows stronger, and extends to a distance. The plant is then ripe, and must be cut up.

THE plants, when collected, are laid in heaps upon the ground that produced them; where they are left to exsude only for one night. The next day they are laid in warehouses, constructed in such a manner that the air may have free access to them on all sides. Here they are left separately suspended as long a time as is necessary to dry them properly. They are then spread upon hurdles, and well covered over, where they ferment for a week or two. At last they are stripped of their leaves, which are either put into barrels, or made up into rolls. The other methods of preparing the plant, which vary according to the different tastes of the several nations that use it, have nothing to do with it's cultivation.

THE inhabitants of the East Indies, and of Africa, cultivate tobacco only for their own use. They neither sell nor purchase any.

SALONICA is the great mart for tobacco in the Levant. Syria, the Morea, or the Peloponnesus, and Egypt, send there all their superfluous quantity, from this port it is sent to Italy, where it is smoked, after it hath been mixed with the tobacco of Dalmatia and Croatia, to soften it's caustic quality.

THE tobacco of these two last provinces is of a very excellent kind: but it is so strong, that it cannot be used till mixed with a milder sort.

THE

BOOK XVIII. THE tobacco of Hungary would be tolerably good, if it had not generally a smell of smoke which is very disgusting.

THE Ukraine, Livonia, Prussia, and Pomerania, cultivate a tolerably large quantity of this production. It's leaves are wider than they are long, are very thin, and have neither flavour nor consistence. In order to improve it, the court of Russia hath caused some tobacco seeds, brought from Virginia and from Hamersfort, to be sown in their colonies of Sarraſow, upon the Volga; but this experiment hath been attended with little or no success.

THE tobacco of the Palatinate is very indifferent; but it hath the property of mixing with a better kind, and of acquiring it's flavour.

HOLLAND also furnishes tobacco. That which is produced in the province of Utrecht, from Hamersfort, and from four or five neighbouring districts, is of a superior quality. It's leaves are large, supple, oily, and of a good colour. It hath the uncommon advantage of communicating it's delicious perfume to tobacco of an inferior quality. There is a great deal of this latter sort upon the territories of the Republic; but the species which grows in Guelderland is the worst of any.

Tobacco was formerly cultivated in France, and with more success than any where else, near Pont de l'Arche in Normandy; at Verton in Picardy; and at Montauban, Tonneins, and Cleral, in Guyenne. It was prohibited in 1721, except upon some frontier towns, whose original terms of capitulation it was not thought proper to infringe. Hainault, Artois, and Tranche Comté, profited very little from a liberty which the nature of their soil did not allow them to make use of. It has been more useful to Flanders and Alsace;

face; for their tobaccos, though very weak, may ^{B O O K} be mixed, without inconvenience, with others of ^{XVIII.} a superior kind.

In the beginning, the islands of the New World attended to the culture of tobacco; but it was successively succeeded by richer productions in them all, except at Cuba, which supplies all the snuff consumed by the Spaniards of both hemispheres. Its perfume is exquisite, but too strong. The same crown derives from Caraccas the tobacco which is smoked by its subjects in Europe. It is likewise used in the North, and in Holland, because there is none to be found any where to be compared with it, for this purpose.

THE Brazils cultivated this production very early, and have not since disdained it. They have been encouraged in this pursuit, by the constant repute which their tobacco hath enjoyed upon the western coasts of Africa. Even in our climates, it is in tolerable request among persons who smoke. It could not be taken in snuff, on account of its acrimony, without the preparations which it undergoes. These preparations consist in soaking every leaf in a decoction of tobacco, and of gum copal. These leaves, thus steeped, are formed into rolls, and wrapped up in the skin of an ox, which keeps up their moisture.

BUT the best tobaccos upon the face of the earth grow in the North of America; and in that part of the New World, the tobacco gathered at Maryland is of the second sort. This plant has not, however, an equal degree of perfection throughout the whole extent of the colonies. That of the growth of Chester and of Chouptan, resembles the Virginia tobacco in quality, and is consumed in France. That which grows

BOOK XVIII. grows' in Patapsisco and Potuxant, which is very fit for smoking, is consumed in the North, and in Holland. Upon the northern shores of the Potowmack, the tobacco is excellent in the higher parts, and of moderate quality in the lower ones.

SAINT MARY, formerly the capital of the state, is of no consequence at present; and Annapolis, which now enjoys this prerogative, is scarce more considerable. It is at Baltimore that almost all the business is transacted, the harbour of which can receive ships that draw seventeen feet of water. These three towns, the only ones which are in the colony, are situated upon the bay of Chesapeake, which runs two hundred and fifty miles up the country, and the mean breadth of which is twelve miles. There are two capes at it's entrance; and in the middle is a sand bank. The channel which is near Cape Charles can admit none but very small vessels; while that which runs a-long-side Cape Henry, admits the largest ships, at any season of the year.

What Maryland may become.

FEW of the lands between the Apalachian mountains and the sea, are so good as those of Maryland. These, however, are in general too light, sandy, and shallow, to reward the planter for his labour and expences, in as short a time as in our climates. Fertility, which always attends the first clearing of the soil, is rapidly followed by an extraordinary decrease in the quantity and quality of the corn. The soil is still sooner exhausted by the culture of tobacco. This leaf loses much of it's strength, *whenever the same spot hath yielded, without intermission, a few crops of tobacco.* For this reason, inspectors were created in 1733, who were impowered to cause all the tobacco to be burnt which had not the proper flavour. This was a prudent institution;

tion; but it seems to foretell, that the most important production of the province must one day be given up, or that it will insensibly be reduced to very little. BOOK XVIII.

THEN, or perhaps before, the iron mines, which are in great abundance in the colony, will be worked. This is a source of prosperity which hath not hitherto been carried beyond the use of seventeen or eighteen forges. A greater degree of liberty, and new wants, will communicate more strength and more activity to the colonists.

OTHER manufactures will also undoubtedly arise. Maryland had never any of any kind. It received from Great Britain all the articles it wanted for the most ordinary purposes of life. This was one of the reasons which occasioned it's being burdened with debts. Mr. Stirenwith hath at length established manufactures for stockings, for silk, woollen, and cotton stuffs, and for all kinds of hardware, even fire-arms. These branches of industry, at present united in one manufacture, at a considerable expence, and with extraordinary sagacity, will be more or less rapidly dispersed throughout the province; and, crossing the Potowmack, will be likewise adopted at Virginia.

THIS other colony, with the same kind of soil and of climate as Maryland, hath a few advantages over the latter. It's extent is much more considerable. It's rivers can admit larger ships, and allow them a longer navigation. It's inhabitants have a more elevated turn of mind; have more resolution, and are more enterprising: this may be attributed to their being generally of English extraction. In what manner Virginia was established, and by whom.

VIRGINIA was, about two centuries ago, the only country which England intended to occupy on

BOOK on the continent of North America. This name
XVIII. doth not at present belong to any thing more
than the space which is bounded by Maryland on
one side, and by Carolina on the other.

THE English landed upon these savage shores
in 1606, and their first settlement was James
Town. Unfortunately, the object that first pre-
sented itself to them, was a rivulet, which, issu-
ing from a sand-bank, carried along with it, a
quantity of tale, which glittered at the bottom
of a clear and running water. In an age when
gold and silver were the only object of men's
researches, this despicable substance was imme-
diately taken for silver. The first and only em-
ployment of the new colonists was to collect it;
and the illusion was carried so far, that two ships,
which arrived there with necessaries, were sent
home so fully freighted with these imaginary
riches, that there scarce remained any room for a

second reward of that generosity that devotes itself BOOK
XVIII.
totally to the service of the public. As soon as he appeared, the knowledge of his character procured him universal respect. He first endeavoured to reconcile the wretched colonists to their fatal country, to comfort them in their sufferings, and to make them hope for a speedy conclusion of them. After this, joining the firmness of an enlightened magistrate to the tenderness of a good father, he taught them how to direct their labours to an useful end. Unfortunately for the reviving colony, Delaware's declining health soon obliged him to return to Europe; but he never lost sight of his favourite colonists, nor ever failed to make use of all his credit and interest at court to support them.

THE colony, however, made but little progress, a circumstance that was attributed to the oppression of exclusive privileges. The company which exercised them was dissolved upon Charles the First's accession to the throne. Before that period, all the authority had been entirely in the hands of the monopoly. Virginia then came under the immediate direction of the crown, which exacted no more than a rent of 2 livres 5 sols*, upon every hundred acres that were cultivated.

TILL this time the colonists had known no true enjoyment of property. Every individual wandered where chance directed him, or fixed himself in the place he liked best, without consulting any titles or agreements. At length boundaries were ascertained, and those who had been so long wanderers, now become citizens, had determined limits to their plantations. The establishment of this first law of society changed the appearance of every thing. Fresh plantations arose on all sides. This activity drew great num-

B O O K **XVIII.** bers of enterprising men over to Virginia, who came either in search of fortune, or of liberty, which is the only compensation for the want of it. The memorable troubles that produced a change in the constitution of England added to these a multitude of Royalists, who went there with a resolution to wait, with Berkley, the governor of the colony, who was also attached to king Charles, the fate of that deserted monarch. Berkley still continued to protect them, even after the king's death; but some of the inhabitants, either brought over or bribed, and supported by the appearance of a powerful fleet, delivered up the colony to the Protector. If the governor was compelled to follow the stream against his will, he was, at least, among those whom Charles had honoured with posts of confidence and rank, the last who submitted to Cromwell, and the first who shook off his yoke. This brave man was sinking under the oppression of the times, when the voice of the people recalled him to the place which his successor's death had left vacant; but far from yielding to these flattering solicitations, he declared that he never would serve any but the legitimate heir of the dethroned monarch. Such an example of magnanimity, at a time when there were no hopes of the restoration of the royal family, made such an impression upon the minds of the people, that Charles the Second was proclaimed in Virginia before he had been proclaimed in England.

*Obstacles
to the pro-
sperity of
Virginia.*

THE colony did not, however, receive from so generous a step all the benefit that might have been expected. The new monarch, either from weakness or corruption, granted to rapacious courtiers immense territories, which absorbed the possessions of a great number of obscure citizens.

The

The act of navigation, suggested by the Pro-B O O K
 tector for the purpose of securing to the mother- XVIII.
 country the supplying of all their settlements in
 the New World with provisions, and the exclu-
 sive trade of all their productions, was observed
 with such rigour, as to double almost the value
 of the articles to be purchased by Virginia, and
 lessen still more the value of what they had to
 sell. This double oppression exhausted all the re-
 sources, and dispelled all the hopes of the colony;
 and to complete it's misfortunes, the savages at-
 tacked it with a degree of spirit and skill which
 they had not manifested in any of the preceding
 wars.

SCARCE had the English landed in these un-
 known regions, than they had disposed the na-
 tives against them by the dishonesty they had
 practised in their exchanges. This source of dis-
 cord might have been put a stop to, had the
 English consented to take Indian wives, as they
 were solicited to do. But although they had
 not yet any European women with them, they
 rejected this connection with disdain. This con-
 tempt exasperated the Americans, already alien-
 ated by their want of faith, and they became
 irreconcilable enemies. Their hatred was mani-
 fested by secret assassinations, and by public ho-
 stilities, and in 1622, by a conspiracy, in which
 three hundred and thirty-four people lost their
 lives, and which would even have destroyed the
 whole colony, had not the commanders been
 apprized of the danger a few hours before the
 time appointed for a general massacre.

SINCE this act of treachery, many atrocious
 ones have been committed on both sides. Truces
 between the two nations were unfrequent, and ill
 observed. The rupture was usually begun by the
 English. The less profit they drew from their
 planta-

BOOK XVIII. plantations, the more artifice and force did they employ to deprive the savages of their furs. This insatiable avidity, which indiscriminately seized upon all the inhabitants, whether settled or wandering, in the neighbourhood of the colony, made the Americans again take up arms, towards the end of the year 1675. They all, by agreement, fell upon the settlements, imprudently dispersed, and at too great a distance to afford each other any assistance.

SUCH a complication of misfortunes drove the Virginians to despair. Berkley, who had so long been their idol, was accused of wanting fortitude to resist the oppressions of the mother-country, and activity to repel the irruptions of the savages. The eyes of all were immediately fixed upon Bacon, a young officer, full of vivacity, eloquence, and intrepidity, of an insinuating disposition, and an agreeable person. They chose him for their general, in an irregular and tumultuous manner. Though his military successes might have justified this prepossession of the licentious multitude, yet this circumstance did not prevent the governor, who, with his remaining partisans, had retired on the borders of the Potowmack, from declaring Bacon a traitor to his country. A sentence so severe, and which was ill-timed, determined Bacon to assume a power by force, which he had exercised peaceably, and without opposition, for six months. Death put an end to all his projects. The malecontents, disunited by the loss of their chief, and intimidated by the troops which were coming from Europe, were induced to sue for pardon, which was readily granted them. The rebellion, therefore, was attended with no bad consequences, and merely insured submission.

TRANQUILLITY was no sooner restored, than means were thought of, to reconcile the Indians, with

with whom all intercourse had for some time been at an end. The communications were opened again in the year 1678, by the general assembly; but it was stipulated, that the exchanges should be made in no other markets, except such as were settled by themselves. This innovation displeased the savages, and matters soon returned to their former course.

THE raising of the value of tobacco was a still more important object, as this was the most considerable, and almost the only production of the colony. It was thought that nothing would contribute more effectually to raise it from the state of degradation into which it had fallen, than to refuse the tobaccos which were brought to Virginia from Maryland and from Carolina, and to send them to Europe. If the legislators had been better informed, they would have understood, that this staple must necessarily, sooner or later, draw into their own hands the freight of this commodity, and would make them the arbiters of its price. By sending it away from their ports through an ill-judged motive of avarice, they drew upon themselves, in all the markets, competitors, who convinced them by dear-bought experience of the error of their principles.

THESE arrangements were scarcely made, before there arrived a new governor to the colony, in the spring of 1679. This was Lord Colepeper. The troubles with which this settlement had been so recently agitated, encouraged him to propose a law, which should condemn to one year's imprisonment, or to a fine of 11,250 livres*, all those citizens who should speak or write any thing against their governor; and to three months imprisonment, or to a fine of 2250 livres†, those who should speak or write

* 45*l.* 1*5*s**

† 93*l.* 1*5*s**

B O O K against the members of the council, or against
 XVIII. any other magistrate.

Was this governor apprehensive then, that the faults of administration, and the dishonesty of its administrators, should be suspected? In what part of the world would not the same consequences be drawn from the imposing of silence? Is it praise or censure that is feared, when the command for silence is issued? These prohibitions calumniate the government, if it be good, because they tend to persuade that it is not so. But what measures can be adopted to enforce the observance of these prohibitions? Can we be ignorant, that it is the nature of man to attempt those actions, which, by becoming dangerous, have a sense of glory attached to them? To oppress a man, and to prevent him from murmuring and complaining, is an atrocious act of violence against which he never fails to revolt. But how will the government discover those who are rebellious to their orders? This can only be done by spies, by informations, and by all those measures which will certainly divide the citizens, and raise mistrust and hatred among them. Whom will government punish? The most honest and the most generous men, who will never be silent when they are persuaded that it is their duty to speak out. They will certainly bid defiance to menaces, or will know how to elude them. If they should adopt the first of these resolutions, will government dare to imprison them? and if it should, would they not soon find persons to avenge them? If it should not, they would fall into contempt. If these men had been allowed to explain themselves with frankness, they would have blended dignity and moderation in their remonstrances. Constraint, and the danger of punishment, will transform these remonstrances into violent,

violent, bitter, and seditious libels; and it is the tyranny of government that will have rendered them guilty. Sovereigns, or you who are depositaries of their authority, if your administration be a good one, deliver it up to all the severity of our examination; it can only insure our respect and submission. If it be a bad one, correct it, or defend it by force. If you be a set of abominable tyrants, have at least the courage to acknowledge it. If you be just, let the people talk and sleep in peace. If you be oppressors, tranquillity and sleep are not made for you, nor will you ever enjoy them, notwithstanding all your efforts. Remember the fate of him who was willing to be hated, provided he might be feared. You will certainly experience the same, unless you be surrounded by vile slaves, such as the inhabitants of Virginia at that time undoubtedly were. The representatives of this province granted, without hesitation, their consent, to a law, which secured impunity to all the plunders of their governors. The misfortunes of Virginia were soon aggravated by other calamities.

At the origin of the colony, justice was administered with a degree of disinterestedness, which warranted the equity of the judgments. One single court took cognizance of all differences, and decided upon them in a few days, with a right of appeal to the general assembly, which used as much dispatch in settling them. This order of things gave the governors too little influence over the fortunes of individuals, for them not to endeavour to suppress it. By their manœuvres, and under several pretences, they obtained that the appeals, which till then had been carried before the representatives of the province, should be made exclusively to their council.

BOOK XVIII A STILL more fatal innovation was ordained in 1692, by another governor, who enacted, that the laws, the tribunals, the formalities, every thing, in a word, that contributed to form the chaos of English jurisprudence, should be established in this government. Nothing was less suitable to the planters of Virginia, than statutes so singular, so complicated, and often so contradictory. Accordingly, these uninformed men found themselves engaged in a labyrinth to which they could find no issue. They were generally alarmed for their rights and their properties; and this apprehension slackened their labours for a long time.

THESE were not carried on with vigour and success, till after the beginning of the century, at which time nothing impeded their increase; only the frontiers of the colony were exposed in the latter times to the devastations of the savages, whom they had exasperated by their acts of atrociousness and injustice. These differences were terminated in 1774. They would have been forgotten, had it not been for the speech made by Logan, chief of the Shawanese, to Lord Dunmore, governor of the province.

“ I now ask of every white man, whether he
 “ hath ever entered the cottage of Logan, when
 “ pressed with hunger, and been refused food?
 “ Whether coming naked, and shivering with
 “ cold, Logan hath not given him something to
 “ cover himself with. During the course of this
 “ last war, so long and so bloody, Logan hath
 “ remained quietly upon his mat, wishing to be
 “ the advocate of peace. Yes, such is my attachment
 “ for white men, that even those of
 “ my nation, when they passed by me, pointed
 “ at me, saying, *Logan is a friend to white men.*
 “ I had even thought of living amongst you;
 “ but

“ but that was before the injury which I have
 “ received from one of you. Last summer, BOOK XVIII.
 “ Colonel Cressop massacred in cool blood, and
 “ without any provocation, all the relations of
 “ Logan, without sparing either his wife or his
 “ children. There is not now one drop of my
 “ blood in the veins of any human creature ex-
 “ isting. This is what has excited my revenge.
 “ I have sought it; I have killed several of
 “ your people, and my hatred is appeased. I re-
 “ joice at seeing the prospect of peace brighten
 “ upon my country. But do not imagine that my
 “ joy is instigated by fear. Logan knows not
 “ what fear is. He will never turn his back,
 “ in order to save his life. But, alas! no one
 “ remains to mourn for Logan when he shall
 “ be no more!”

WHAT a beautiful, simple, energetic, and af-
 fecting speech! Are Demosthenes, Cicero, or
 Bossuet, more eloquent than this savage? What
 better proof can be adduced of the truth of that
 well-known maxim, which says, that *from the*
abundance of the heart the mouth speaks.

VIRGINIA, like most of the other colonies, was
 inhabited at first only by vagabonds, destitute
 of family and fortune. They soon obtained some
 kind of wealth by labour, and they were desirous
 of sharing the sweets of it with a female compa-
 nion. As there were no women in the province,
 and that they would have none but such as were
 decent, they gave 2250 livres* for every young
 person brought them from Europe with a cer-
 tificate of virtue and chastity. This custom was
 not of long duration. As soon as all doubts re-
 specting the salubrity and fertility of the coun-
 try were removed, whole families, even of re-
 spectable rank, went to Virginia. The popula-

Popula-
 tion trade,
 and man-
 ners of
 Virginia

BOOKtion was increasing with some degree of rapidity,
 XVIII. when it's progress was stopped by fanaticism.

THE religion of the mother-country was the first, and soon became the only one which was followed in this province, when some Non-conformists also crossed the seas. Their tenets, or their ceremonies, disgusted; and in 1642 a law was made, which expelled from the province all those inhabitants who did not belong to the church of England. The imperious law of necessity soon caused the revocation of this fatal decree: but a toleration so tardy, and which was evidently granted with reluctance, did not produce the great effects that were expected from it. A small number only of Presbyterians, Quakers, and French refugees, ventured to put any trust in this repentance. The religion of Henry VIII. continued to be the prevailing one, and was almost exclusive.

IN process of time, however, men multiplied upon this soil, the fertility of which was daily increasing in reputation. The passion for riches with which the Old Continent was more and more infected, gave citizens incessantly to this part of the New World. If the calculations of congress be not exaggerated, the population amounts to six hundred and fifty thousand souls, including the slaves, whose number, according to the common opinion, amounts to one hundred and fifty thousand. The Dutch first introduced these unfortunate people into the colony in 1620.

THE labours of these white men, and of these negroes, gave to the two hemispheres, corn, maize, dry vegetables, iron, hemp, hides, furs, salt meats, tar, wood, masts, and especially tobacco, which is generally superior to that of Maryland, though it be not equally excellent in every part of the province. The preference is given

given to that of York River; the second best is reckoned to be that which grows along James's River, and that which grows on the borders of the Rappahanoc, and to the south of the Potowmack, is the least esteemed. BOOK XVIII.

FROM 1752 till the end of 1755, Great Britain received from Virginia and Maryland together, three million five hundred one thousand one hundred and ten quintals of tobacco, which made for each of the four years, eight hundred and seventy-five thousand two hundred and fourscore quintals. Virginia exported two million nine hundred and eighty-nine thousand eight hundred quintals, which reduced it's annual consumption to one hundred and twenty-seven thousand eight hundred and thirty quintals.

FROM the year 1763, till the end of 1770, the two colonies sent to the mother-country no more than six million five hundred thousand quintals of tobacco, or eight hundred and twelve thousand five hundred quintals each of the eight years. No more was sold to foreigners than five million one hundred and forty-eight thousand quintals, or six hundred and forty-three thousand five hundred quintals per annum; the nation therefore annually consumed one hundred and sixty-nine thousand quintals.

IN the interval between these two periods the importation, therefore, decreased annually, one year with another, sixty two thousand seven hundred and fourscore quintals, and the exportation one hundred and three thousand nine hundred and fifty quintals, while the consumption in England increased forty-one thousand one hundred and seventy quintals every year.

THE use of tobacco hath not decreased in Europe; the passion for this superfluous hath even increased, notwithstanding the heavy duties with which

BOOK
XVIII

which it hath been burdened by all governments. If the tobacco furnished by North America be daily less sought after among us, it is because, Holland, Alsatia, the Palatinate, and principally Russia, have carried on this culture with great industry.

In 1769, Virginia and Maryland together sold to the amount of 16,195,577 livres 4 sols 7 deniers * of their productions. Two thirds of this sum belonged to the first of these settlements. Tobacco was the principal of these productions, since one of the colonies exported fifty seven million three hundred and thirty seven thousand seven hundred and ninety five pounds weight of it, and the other, twenty five million seven hundred and eighty one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine pounds weight.

In Virginia, vessels employed for the exportation of these productions do not find them collected in a small number of staples, as in the other commercial states of the globe. They are obliged to form their cargo by detail from the plantations themselves, which are situated at a greater or less distance from the ocean, upon navigable rivers, of one or two hundred miles in length. This custom fatigues the navigators, and makes their voyage tedious. Great Britain, which is always attentive to the preservation of her seamen, and is particularly careful of lessening the number of their voyages, wished, and even ordered, that some towns should be built at the mouth of the rivers, where the productions of the province might be sent. But neither insinuations, nor the constraint of the laws, were of any avail. A few small villages only were built, which could scarce fulfil even the least part of the

* About 674 8151 125 ad farthing

views of the mother-country. Williamsburg it-
self, hath no more than two thousand inhabit-
ants, though it be the residence of the governor,
the place where the national assemblies, and the
courts of justice are holden, and where colleges
are instituted; though it be decorated with the
finest public edifices on the Northern continent;
and though it be the capital of the colony, since
the ruin of James-town.

MEN, who prefer the tranquillity of a rural life
to the tumultuous abode of cities, ought natu-
rally to be economical and laborious; but this
was never the case in Virginia. It's inhabitants
were always very expensive in the furniture of
their houses; they were always fond of enter-
taining their neighbours with ostentation. They
always liked to display the greatest luxury before
the English navigators, whom business brought
to their plantations. They always gave them-
selves up to that effeminacy, and to that negli-
gence, so common in countries where slavery is
established. Accordingly, the engagements of
the colony became habitually very considerable.
At the beginning of the troubles, they were sup-
posed to amount to 25,000,000 of livres*. This
prodigious sum was due to the merchants of
Great Britain, for Negroes, or for other articles,
which they had furnished. The confidence of
these bold lenders was particularly founded upon
an unjust law, which secured their payment in
preference to every other debt, though previously
contracted.

THE colony hath great powers to extricate itself
from a situation apparently so desperate. It will
succeed, when more simplicity shall prevail in the
manners, and more moderation in the expences;
when availing itself of the resources offered by

BOOK XVIII. An immense and fertile territory, it shall vary and improve it's cultures; it will succeed, when it shall no longer receive from foreigners the most ordinary household furniture, and that which is in most general use; when it's manufactures shall no longer be confined to the employing of some small quantities of cotton, which is of too indifferent a quality to be sought for in the European manufactures; and when it's public coffers, less plundered, and better regulated, shall admit of the diminution of the taxes, which are much more considerable in that province than in any other of this continent. Several of these councils may concern the two Carolinas.

Origin of
the two
Carolinas.
Their first
and their
last go-
vernments,
both civil
and reli-
gious.

The vast country which these provinces occupy, was discovered by the Spaniards, soon after their first expeditions in the New World; they despised it, because it did not offer any gold to their avarice. Admiral Coligny, more wise, and more able, opened there a source of industry to the French protestants; but fanaticism, which pursued them, ruined their hopes by the assassination of this just, humane, and enlightened man. They were succeeded by a few Englishmen towards the end of the sixteenth century; who by an inexplicable caprice forsook this infant settlement, to go and cultivate a harsher soil, under a less temperate climate.

THERE was not a single European seen in Carolina, when the lords Berkley, Clarendon, Albemarle, Craven, Ashley, and Messrs. Carteret, Berkley, and Colleton, obtained from Charles II. in 1663, a grant of this fine country. The plan of government for this new colony was drawn up by the famous Locke. A philosopher, who was a friend to mankind, and to that moderation and justice which should be the only rule of their actions, ought to have destroyed the very foundati-

ions of that fanaticism, which in all countries hath excited divisions among them, and which will induce them to take up arms against each other to the end of time. BOOK XVIII.

INTOLERATION, however horrid it may appear to us, is a necessary consequence of the spirit of superstition. Will it not be acknowledged, that punishments should be proportioned to the nature of offences? What crime then can be greater than that of infidelity, in the eyes of him who considers religion as the fundamental basis of morality? According to these principles, the irreligious man is the common enemy of all society; the breaker of the only tie that connects men with each other; the promoter of all the crimes that may escape the severity of the laws. It is he who stifles every remorse, who sets the passions loose from every restraint, and who keeps, as it were, a school of wickedness. What! shall we lead to the gibbet an unfortunate man, whom indigence conceals upon the highway, who rushes out upon the traveller with a pistol in his hand, and demands a small pittance that may be necessary for the subsistence of his wife and children, who may be expiring with misery; and shall we pardon a robber infinitely more dangerous? We think meanly of the man who suffers his friend to be ill spoken of in his presence; and shall we require that the religious man shall suffer the infidel to blaspheme his Master, his Father, and his Creator with impunity? We must either admit that all faith is absurd, or we must put up with intoleration as a necessary evil. Saint Lewis reasoned very consistently when he said to Joinville, *If thou shouldst ever hear any one speak ill of God, draw thy sword and stab him through the heart; I allow thee to do it.* So important it is in all countries, as we are assured is the case in China, that

love-

BOOK XVIII sovereigns, and the depositaries of their authority, should not be attached to any tenet, to any sect, nor to any form of religious worship.

EVERY thing induces us to imagine that such was the opinion of Locke. But not daring to attack too openly the prejudices of the times, founded equally on virtues and vices, he wished to conciliate them as much as could be consistent with a principle dictated by reason and humanity. As the savage inhabitants of America, said he; have no idea of a revelation, it would be the height of folly to torment them for their ignorance. Those Christians who should come to people the colony, would undoubtedly come in quest of a liberty of conscience, which priests and princes deny them in Europe: it would therefore not be consistent with good faith to persecute, after having received them. The Jews and the Pagans did not more deserve to be rejected, for an infatuation which mildness and persuasion might have put a stop to.

THUS it was that the English philosopher reasoned with men whose minds were imbued and prejudiced with tenets which it had not yet been allowed to discuss. Out of regard to their weakness, he placed the system of toleration which he was establishing under the following restriction: that every person above seventeen years, of age, who should claim the protection of the laws, should cause his name to be registered in some communion. This was a breach made in his system. The liberty of conscience admits of no kind of modification. This is an account which man owes to God alone. In whatever manner the magistrate may be made to interfere in it, it is an act of injustice. A Deist could not possibly subscribe to such terms.

CIVIL liberty, however, was much less favoured by Locke. Whether this proceeded from motives of complaisance for those who employed him, a kind of meanness which we are averse from suspecting him of; or whether, being more of a metaphysician than a statesman, he had pursued philosophy only in those tracts which had been opened by Descartes and Leibnitz, it is certain, that the same man who had dissipated and destroyed so many errors in his theory concerning the origin of ideas, made but very feeble and uncertain advances in the paths of legislation. The author of a work, the permanency of which will render the glory of the French nation immortal, even when tyranny shall have broken all the springs, and all the monuments of the genius of a people esteemed by the whole world for so many brilliant and amiable qualities; even Montesquieu himself did not perceive that he was making men for governments, instead of governments for men.

THE code of Carolina, by a singularity not to be accounted for in an Englishman and in a philosopher; gave to the eight proprietors who founded the settlement, and to their heirs, not only all the rights of sovereignty, but all the powers of legislation.

THE first use these sovereigns made of their authority was to create three orders of nobility. Those to whom they gave no more than twelve thousand acres of land were called *barons*; those who received twenty-four thousand were called *caciques*, and the title of landgrave was bestowed on those two who obtained fourscore thousand each. These concessions could never be alienated in detail, and their fortunate possessors were alone to form the house of peers. The house of commons was composed of the representatives of the towns and counties, but with privileges less

conli-

B O O K XVIII considerable than in the mother-country. The assembly was called a court palatine. Every tenant was obliged to pay annually 1 livre 2 sols 6 deniers * per acre, but he was allowed to redeem this duty.

THE progress of this great settlement, was for too long a time impeded by powerful obstacles.

THE colony had from it's origin been open indiscriminately to all sects, which had all enjoyed the same privileges. It had been understood, that this was the only way to make an infant state acquire rapid and great prosperity. The members of the church of England being afterwards jealous of the non-conformists, wanted to exclude them from government, and even to oblige them to shut up the houses where they performed divine service. These acts of folly and of violence were annulled in 1706 by the mother-country, as being contrary to humanity, to justice, to reason, and to policy. From the collision of these opinions arose cabals and tumults, which diverted the inhabitants from useful labours, and turned their attention to a multitude of absurdities, which will be never so much despised as they deserve to be.

Two wars, which were carried on against the savages, were almost as extravagant and as destructive of every improvement. All the wandering or fixed nations between the ocean and the Apalachian mountains, were attacked and massacred without any interest or motive, those who escaped being put to the sword, either submitted or were dispersed. In the mean while, a form of constitution ill arranged, was the principal cause of an almost general indolence. The lords who were proprietors, imbued with despotic principles, used their utmost efforts to establish an

* i. e. tithing

arbitrary government. The colonists, on the other hand, who were not ignorant of the rights of mankind, exerted themselves with equal warmth to avoid servitude. It was necessary either to establish a new order of things, or to suffer, that a vast country, from which such great advantages had been expected, should remain in perpetual humiliation, misery, and anarchy. The British senate at length took the resolution, in 1728, to restore this fine country to the nation, and to grant to it's first masters 540,000 livres * in compensation. Granville alone, from motives which are unknown to us, was left in possession of his eighth share, which was situated on the confines of Virginia; but even this part was not long before it recovered it's independence. The English government; as it was already established in the other provinces of the New World, was substituted to the whimsical arrangement, which, in times of extreme corruption, had been extorted from an indolent and weak monarch, by insatiable favourites. The country might then expect to prosper. It was divided into two distinct governments, under the names of North and South Carolina, in order to facilitate the administration of it.

THE two countries united, occupy more than four hundred thousand miles upon the coast, and about two hundred thousand miles in the inland parts. It is a plain, in general sandy, which is rendered very marshy by the overflowing of the rivers, and by heavy and frequent rains. The soil doth not begin to rise, till at the distance of fourscore or a hundred miles from the sea; and it continues rising as far as the Apalachian mountains. Upon these latitudes, and in the midst of pine-trees, which are irregularly placed there by

* 11,500*l*.

BOOK XVIII. nature, a few sheep, extremely degenerated, both in their flesh and in their fleece, feed upon a strong and coarse grass; there are also a number of horned cattle, who have not preserved all their strength and all their beauty; and an innumerable quantity of hogs, who appear to have improved.

THE country is watered by a great number of rivers, some of which are navigable. They would be so for a longer space, were it not for the rocks and the water-falls which interrupt the navigation.

THOUGH the climate be as variable as the rest of North America, it is commonly agreeably temperate. A piercing cold is never felt but in the evening and morning, and there are seldom any excessive heats. Though fogs be frequent, they are at least dispelled in the middle of the day. Unfortunately, in the months of July, August, September, and October, intermittent fevers prevail in the plains, and are sometimes fatal to the natives themselves, and, too often, destroy foreigners.

SUCH is the natural organization of the two Carolinas; let us see what distinguishes them from each other.

What distinguishes North Carolina

NORTH CAROLINA is one of the largest provinces of the continent; it unfortunately doth not offer advantages proportioned to it's extent. It's soil is generally flatter, more sandy, and more marshy, than that of South Carolina. These melancholy plains are covered with pines or cedars, which announce a barren soil; and are intersected at intervals by a small number of oaks, too full of sap to be employed in the construction of ships. The coasts, generally blocked up by a sand bank, which keeps navigators at a distance, are not more favourable to population than

an the inland countries. Finally, the country BOOK
 more exposed than the neighbouring regions XVIII.
 the hurricanes that come from the South-
 ast.

These were undoubtedly the motives which
 revented the English of North Carolina from
 settling there, though that country was the first
 which they discovered in the New World. None
 of the numerous people who were driven to that
 part of the hemisphere, either from inclination
 or necessity, carried there their misery or their
 restlessness. It was long after, that a few vaga-
 bonds, without friends, without laws, and with-
 out plan to fix themselves, settled there. But,
 in process of time, the lands in the other colonies
 became scarce, and then men, who were not able
 to purchase them, betook themselves to a coun-
 try where they could get lands without purchase.
 According to the account of congress, three
 hundred thousand souls, in which few slaves are
 included, are still found in the province. There
 are but few of these inhabitants which are either
 English, Irish, or German. Most of them are
 of Scotch origin, and for this reason :

These Highlanders, whose character has been
 so boldly described by a masterly hand, were ne-
 ver enslaved either by the Romans, the Saxons,
 or the Danes. They bravely repulsed every in-
 vasion, and no foreign customs could penetrate
 beyond the foot of their inaccessible habitations.
 Separated from the rest of the globe, they dis-
 played in their manners the politeness of courts,
 without having any of their vices; their counte-
 nance shewed the pride with which the nobility
 of their origin had inspired them; and they were
 possessed of all the delicacy of our point of ho-
 nour, but without it's suspicious minutiae. As
 industry had not transformed them into mere
 machines,

BOOK
XVIII.

machines, and as the nature of their soil and climate did not require the labours of the fields for more than two seasons in the year, they had a great deal of leisure time, which they employed in war, in hunting, in dancing, or in conversations animated by picturesque expressions, and original ideas. Most of them were musicians. Schools were every where opened for the instruction of youth. Under every roof was found one historian, to recall to their minds great events, and a poet to celebrate them. The lakes, the forests, the caves, the cataraets, the majestic grandeur of all the objects that surrounded them, inspired them with an elevation of mind, cast a shade of melancholy over their characters, and kept up in their hearts a sacred enthusiasm. These people esteemed themselves, without despising other nations. Their aspect struck the civilized man with awe, in whom they only beheld one of their equals, whatever title he might be decorated with. They received all foreigners who came to them with a simple and cordial affection. They kept a long time in their memory, a resentment for any injury offered to any of them: which was rendered common to them all by the ties of blood. After an engagement they dressed their enemies wounds before their own. As they were always armed, the habitual use of destructive weapons, prevented them from having any fear of them. They believed in spirits; and if the lightning shone during the night, if thunder rolled over their heads, if the storm rooted up the trees around their houses, or shook their roofs, they imagined that it was some forgotten hero reproaching them for their silence: they then took up their instruments, and sang a hymn to his honour; they assured him that his
 often among the
 children

children of men. They believed in presages and in BOOK
XVIII.
divination. They all submitted to the established form of worship; superstition never excited quarrels among them, nor caused the effusion of one drop of blood.

THESE manners were never altered; nor could they be so. The Scotch formed a great number of tribes, called *clans*; each of which bore a different name, and lived upon the estate of some particular lord. It was the hereditary patriarch of a family, from whom they all claimed their descent, and they all knew to what degree.

THE castle was in some measure a common property, where every person was sure of meeting with an honourable reception, and where they all resorted upon the first rumour of war. They all revered their own dignity in their chief; they had a brotherly affection for the other members of the confederation. They all patiently supported their fate, because it never had any thing humiliating in it. The head of the clan, on his side, was the common father of them all, as well from gratitude as from interest.

THIS order of things subsisted during a long series of ages, without the least alteration. At last the noblemen contracted the habit of spending a great part of their lives in travelling, at London, or at court. These repeated absences detached from them their vassals, who saw them less frequently, and were no longer assisted by them. These men, who were no longer restrained by any tie of affection in their barren and savage mountains, then dispersed themselves. Several of them went in search of another country, in divers provinces of America. The greatest number took refuge in North Carolina.

THESE colonists are seldom assembled together, and they are therefore the least informed of the

BOOK XVIII. Americans, and the most indifferent to the public interest. Most of them live dispersed upon their plantations, without ambition or foresight. They are but little inclined to labour, and they are seldom good planters. Though they have the English form of government, the laws have very little force among them. Their domestic are better than their social manners, and there is scarce an instance of any one of them having had any connection with a slave. Their food consists of pork, milk, and maize; and they can be accused of no other kind of intemperance, than an inordinate passion for spirituous liquors.

THE first unfortunate people whom chance dispersed along these savage coasts, confined themselves to the cutting of wood, which they delivered to the navigators, who came to purchase it. In a short time they collected from the pine tree, which covered the country, turpentine, tar, and pitch. To collect the turpentine it was sufficient to make incisions in the trunk of the tree, which being carried on to the foot of it, terminated in vessels placed there to receive it. When they wanted tar, they raised a circular platform of potter's earth, on which they laid piles of pines; to these they set fire, and the resin distilled from them into casks placed underneath. The tar was converted into pitch, either in great iron pots, in which they boiled it, or in pits formed of potter's earth into which it was poured while in a fluid state. In process of time, the province was enabled to furnish Europe with hides, a small quantity of wax, a few furs, ten or twelve millions weight of an inferior kind of tobacco; and the West Indies, with a great quantity of salt pork, maize, dried vegetables, a small quantity of indifferent flour, and several objects of less importance. The exportations of the colony

colony did not, however, exceed twelve or fifteen hundred thousand livres *. BOOK XVIII.

NORTH CAROLINA hath not yet attended to the exportation of it's own productions. What it's soil furnishes to the New Hemisphere, hath been hitherto taken away by the navigators of the North of America; who brought in exchange rum, of which it hath still continued to make an immense consumption. The articles which the colony delivers to the Old World, have passed through the hands of the English, who supplied it with clothes, instruments for agriculture, and some Negroes.

THROUGH the whole extent of the coasts, there is no port but that of Brunswick, which can receive the vessels destined for those transactions. Those which draw no more than sixteen feet water, anchor at that town, which is built almost at the mouth of the river of Cape Fear, towards the southern extremity of the province. Wilmington, it's capital, situated higher up upon the same river, admits only much smaller vessels.

SOUTH CAROLINA furnishes to the trade of both hemispheres as North Carolina, but in less quantity. It's labours have been chiefly turned towards rice and indigo. What distinguishes South Carolina.

RICE is a plant very much resembling wheat in shape and colour, and in the figure and disposition of it's leaves. The panicle which terminates the stem is composed of small flowers, distinct from each other, which have four unequal scales, six stamina, and one pistil, surrounded with two styles. This pistil becomes a white seed, extremely farenaceous, covered with two interior scales; which are larger, yellowish, covered with light asperities, and furnished with several salient costæ, the middle one of which ter-

* From 50,000l. to 62,500l

BOOK XVIII. minates in an elongated extremity. This plant thrives only in low, damp, and marshy lands, when they are even a little overflowed. The period of it's discovery is traced to the remotest antiquity.

EGYPT, unfortunately for itself, first attended to it. The pernicious effect of this culture, rendered the country the most unhealthy in the known world; constantly ravaged by epidemical disorders, and afflicted with cutaneous diseases, which passed from that region to the others, where they have been perpetuated during whole centuries, and where they have only been put a stop to, by the contrary cause to that which had occasioned them; to wit, the drying up of the marshes, and the restoring of salubrity to the air and to the waters. China, and the East Indies, must experience the same calamities, if art doth not oppose preservatives to nature, whose benefits are sometimes accompanied with evils; or if the heat of the torrid zone doth not quickly dispel the damp, and malignant vapours which are exhaled from the rice grounds. It is a known fact, that in the rice grounds of the Milanese, the cultivators are all livid and dropical.

OPINIONS differ about the manner in which rice hath been naturalized in Carolina. But whether the province may have acquired it by a ship-wreck, or whether it may have been carried there with slaves, or whether it be sent from England, it is certain that the soil seemed favourable for it. It multiplied, however, very slowly, because the colonists, who were obliged to send their harvests into the ports of the mother-country, by which they were sent into Spain and Portugal, where they were consumed, acquired so small a profit from their productions, that it was scarcely sufficient to defray the expences of cultivation. In

BOOK XVIII. soon double it's population and it's cultures. It is already the richest of all the provinces of the Northern continent. Accordingly, the taste for the conveniences of life is generally prevalent, and the expences are carried as far as luxury. This magnificence was more particularly remarked some time ago in the funerals. As many citizens as it was possible to collect were assembled at them; expensive dishes were served up, and the most exquisite wines, and the scarcest liquors were lavished. To the plate which the family had, was added that of the relations, the neighbours, and the friends. It was common to see fortunes either much incroached upon, or even deranged by these obsequies. The sanguinary and ruinous contests between the mother-country and the colonies have put a stop to these profusions; but without abolishing a custom perhaps still more extravagant.

From the origin of the settlement, the ministers of religion adopted the custom of pronouncing indiscriminately, in the churches, an elogium upon every one of their flock after death. The praise was never in proportion to the actions and virtues of the deceased, but to the greater or less reward which they were to receive for the funeral oration. So that while, in our countries, the Catholic priests were making a traffic of prayer, the clergy of the church of England were carrying on, in the other hemisphere, the more odious traffic of the praises of the dead.

COULD there be a more effectual method of degrading virtue, of diminishing the horror of vice, and of corrupting in men's minds the true notions of each? Could there be any thing more scandalous to a whole Christian audience, than the impudence of an orator, of a preacher of the gospel extolling a citizen who had been abhorred for his

his avarice, his cruelty, and his debauchery; a bad father, an ungrateful son, or married persons who had led a life of dissoluteness; and placing in heaven those whom the Almighty Judge had precipitated into the depth of the infernal regions?

BOOK
XVIII.

SOUTH CAROLINA hath only three cities worthy of being called so; and these are also ports.

GEORGE TOWN, situated at the mouth of the Black River, is still very inconsiderable; but it's situation must render it one day more important.

BEAUFORT, or Port Royal, will never emerge from a state of mediocrity, though it's road be capable of receiving and securing the largest ships.

It is Charlestown, the capital of the colony, which is at present the most important staple, and which must necessarily become still more so.

THE channel which leads up to it is full of breakers, and embarrassed with a sand-bank: but with the assistance of a good pilot, a ship arrives safely in the harbour. It can receive three hundred sail; and ships of three hundred and fifty or four hundred tons burden can enter it at all times, with their entire cargo.

THE town occupies a great space, at the confluence of the two navigable rivers, Ashley, and Cooper. It's streets are very regular, and most of them large; it hath two thousand convenient houses, and a few public buildings, which would be reckoned handsome even in Europe. The double advantage which Charlestown enjoys of being the staple for the productions of the colony which are to be exported, and of all the foreign merchandise that can be consumed there, keeps up a constant activity in it, and hath successively

BOOK cessively been the cause of making some considerable fortunes.

XVIII. THE two Carolinas are still very far from attaining to that degree of splendour to which they have a right to aspire. North Carolina doth not cultivate all the productions of which it's soil is susceptible, and those which it seems to attend a little to, are in a manner left to chance. The inhabitants of South Carolina are more intelligent, and more active: but they have not yet found out, at least not sufficiently, how far they might improve their fortune by the culture of the above tree, and of silk. Neither of these provinces have cleared one quarter of their territory which may be usefully employed. This labour is reserved for future generations, and for an increase of population. Then undoubtedly some kind of industry will be established in provinces, where there would not exist the least appearance of any, if the French refugees had not brought a linen manufactory to them.

By whom,
upon what
occasion,
and in
what man-
ner, Geor-
gia was
founded.

BETWEEN Carolina and Florida, there is a slip of land, which extends sixty miles along the sea-side, which acquires, by degrees, a breadth of one hundred and fifty miles, and hath three hundred miles in depth, as far as the Apalachian mountains. This country is limited on the North by the Savannah river, and to the South by the river of Alatomaha.

THE English ministry had been long desirous of erecting a colony on this tract of country, that was considered as dependent upon Carolina. One of those instances of benevolence, which liberty, the source of every patriotic virtue, renders more frequent in England than in any other country, served to determine the views of government with regard to this place. A rich and humane citizen, at his death, left the whole of

his

his estate to set at liberty such insolvent debtors as were detained in prison by their creditors. Where shall we find, either in France or in other parts, any person who shall thus propose to expiate a long abuse of prosperity? Several will die; after having squandered away millions, without being able to recollect one good action they have done. Several will die, and will leave behind them, to heirs who are anxious for their death, treasures acquired by usury and concussion, without repairing, by some honourable and useful institution, the crime of their opulence. Is it then one of the necessary effects of gold, to harden the heart to the last, and to stifle remorse; since there is scarce any man who hath known how to make a good use of it during his life; scarce any man who has employed it in procuring tranquillity to himself in his last moments? Prudential reasons of policy concurred in the performance of this will dictated by humanity; and the government gave orders, that such unhappy prisoners as were released, should be transplanted into that desert country, that was now interded to be peopled. It was named Georgia in honour of the reigning sovereign.

THIS instance of respect, the more pleasing, as it was not the effect of flattery; and the execution of a design of so much real advantage to the state, were entirely the work of the nation. The parliament added 225,000 livres* to the estate left by the will of the citizen; and a voluntary subscription produced a much more considerable sum. General Oglethorpe, a man who had distinguished himself in the house of commons by his taste for great designs, by his zeal for his country, and his passion for glory, was fixed upon to direct these public finances, and to carry into

BOOK XVIII. execution so excellent a project. Desirous of maintaining the reputation he had acquired, he chose to conduct himself the first colonists that were sent to Georgia; where he arrived in January 1733, and fixed his people on a spot ten miles distant from the sea, in an agreeable and fertile plain on the banks of the Savannah. The river gave it's name to this feeble settlement, which might one day become the capital of a flourishing colony. It consisted at first of no more than one hundred persons; but before the end of the year the number was increased to six hundred and eighteen; of whom one hundred and twenty-seven had emigrated at their own expence. Three hundred men, and one hundred and thirteen women, one hundred and two lads, and eighty-three girls, formed the beginning of this new population, and the hopes of a numerous posterity.

This settlement was increased in 1735 by the arrival of some Scotch highlanders. Their national courage induced them to accept an establishment offered them upon the borders of the *Alatamaha*, to defend the colony, if necessary, against the attacks of the neighbouring Spaniards. Here they built the town of *Darien*, five leagues distant from the island of *St. Simon*, where the hamlet of *Frederica* was already established.

In the same year, a great number of Protestants, driven out of *Saltzburg* by a fanatical priest, embarked for Georgia to enjoy peace and liberty of conscience. *Libenezer*, situated upon the river *Savannah*, sixteen leagues from the ocean, owed it's rise to these victims of an odious superstition.

SOME Switzers followed the example of these wise *Saltzburgers*, though they had not, like them, been persecuted. They also settled on the bank of the *Savannah*, but three leagues lower,
and

and upon a spot which subjected them to the laws of Carolina. Their colony, consisting of a hundred habitations, was named Puryzburg, from Pury their founder, who having been at the expence of their settlement, was deservedly chosen their chief, in testimony of their gratitude to him. BOOK XVIII.

IN these four or five colonies, some men were found more inclined to trade than agriculture. These, therefore, separated from the rest, in order to build the city of Augusta, one hundred and forty-five miles distant from the ocean. The goodness of the soil was not the object they had in view; but they wished to share with Virginia and the Carolinas the peltries which these provinces obtained from the Creeks, the Chickasaws, and the Cherokees, which were the most numerous savage nations of this continent. Their project was so successful, that as early as the year 1739, six hundred people were employed in this commerce. The sale of these furs was with much greater facility carried on, from the circumstance of the Savannah admitting, during the greatest part of the year, ships from twenty to thirty tons burden as far as the walls of Augusta.

THE mother-country ought, one would imagine, to have formed great expectations from a colony which had received, in a very short space of time, five thousand inhabitants, which had cost the treasury 1,485,000 livres*, and the zealous patriots a great deal more. What must not therefore have been their astonishment, when in 1741 they were informed, that most of the unfortunate people who had sought an asylum in Georgia, had successively withdrawn themselves from it; and that the few who remained there

BOOK XVIII. seemed only desirous to fix in a less insupportable spot. The reasons of this singular event were inquired into and discovered.

Impediments that have prevented the progress of Georgia.

THIS colony, even in it's origin, brought with it the seeds of it's decay. The government, together with the property of Georgia, had been ceded to individuals. The example of Carolina ought to have prevented this imprudent scheme; but nations, any more than individuals, do not learn instruction from their past misconduct. Facts are generally unknown; and if they should not be, still bad consequences are imputed to unable predecessors, or else some trifling difference in circumstances, or in some frivolous precautions, afford a pretence for giving a false colouring to measures that are faulty in themselves. Hence it happens, that an enlightened government, though checked by the watchful eye of the people, is not always able to guard against every misuse of it's confidence. The English ministry, therefore, sacrificed the public interest to the rapacious views of interested individuals.

THE first use which the proprietors of Georgia made of the unlimited power they were invested with, was to establish a system of legislation, that made them entirely masters not only of the police, justice, and finances of the country, but even of the lives and estates of it's inhabitants. Every species of right was withdrawn from the people, who are the original possessors of every right. Obedience was required of them, though contrary to their interest and knowledge; and it was considered as their duty and their fate.

As great inconveniences had been found to arise in other colonies from large possessions, it was thought proper in Georgia to allow each family only fifty acres of land at first, and never more than

than five hundred; which they were not permitted to mortgage, or, even to dispose of by will to their female issue. This last regulation, of making only the male issue capable of inheritance, was soon abolished; but there still remained too many obstacles to excite a spirit of emulation.

1. WHEN a man is neither pursued by the laws, nor driven away to avoid ignominy, nor tormented by religious tyranny, by the persecutions of his creditors, by shame or misery, or by the want of every kind of resource in his own country, he doth not renounce, his relations, his friends, and his fellow-citizens; he doth not banish himself, he doth not cross the seas, he doth not go in search of a distant land, unless he be attracted there by hopes which are more powerful than the allurements of his native soil, than the value he sets upon his existence, and the dangers to which he exposes himself. To go, on board of ship, in order to be landed on an unknown region, is the act of a desperate man, unless the imagination be influenced by the prospect of some great happiness; a prospect which the least alarm will dissipate. If the vague and unlimited confidence the emigrant hath in his industry, in which his whole fortune consists, be shaken by any means whatever, he will remain upon the shore. Such must necessarily have been the effect of the boundaries assigned to every plantation. Several other errors still affected the original plan of this country, and prevented its increase.

THE taxes imposed upon the most fertile of the English colonies are very inconsiderable; and even these are not levied, till the settlements have acquired some degree of vigour and prosperity. From its infant state, Georgia had been subjected to the lines of a feudal government, with which

less favoured by the mother-country than their ^{B O O K} neighbours, who were situated in a country less ^{XVIII.} susceptible of culture, and in a hotter climate, would want strength and spirit to undertake a cultivation that required greater encouragement?

The demands of the people, and the refusals of the government, may be equally extravagant. The people listen only to their wants, and sovereigns consult only their personal interest. The former, commonly very indifferent, especially in distant countries, with respect to the powers to which they belong, and those which they may receive by an invasion, neglect their political security, in order to attend only to their personal welfare. The latter, on the contrary, will never hesitate between the felicity of the people, and the solidity of their possessions; and will always prefer a steady and permanent authority over a set of miserable beings, to an uncertain and precarious sway over men who are happy. Their mistrust, which a long series of vexations hath too well justified, will induce them to consider the people as slaves, ever ready to escape from them by revolt or by flight; and it will not enter into the thoughts of any one of them, that this habitual sentiment of hatred, which they suppose to exist against them because they have deserved it, and which is but too real, would be extinguished, if they could experience a few years of a mild and paternal administration: for nothing is alienated with so much difficulty as the affection of the people. It is founded on the advantages rarely felt, but always acknowledged, of a supreme authority, whatever it may be, which directs, which is watchful, which protects, and which defends. For the same reason, nothing is more easily recovered, when alienated. The delusive

BOOK XVIII. it had been, as it were, fettered. The revenues raised by this kind of service, must have increased beyond measure in process of time. The founders of it, blinded by a spirit of avidity, did not perceive, that the smallest duty imposed upon a populous and flourishing province, would much sooner enrich them, than the heaviest taxes laid upon a barren and uncultivated country.

To this species of oppression was added an arrangement which became a fresh cause of inactivity. The disorders which were the consequence of the use of spirituous liquors throughout all the continent of North America, occasioned the importation of rum to be prohibited in Georgia. This prohibition, however laudable the motive for it might be, deprived the colonists of the only drink which could correct the bad effects of the water of the country, which they found every where unhealthy, and of the only means they had of repairing their strength, exhausted by continual perspiration. It also secluded them from the trade of the West Indies, where they were no more allowed to exchange for these liquors the wood, the seeds, and the cattle, which ought to have constituted their first riches.

WEAK as these resources were, they must have increased very slowly, on account of a prohibition, which would deserve recommendation, had it been dictated by a sentiment of humanity, and not by policy. The planters of Georgia were not allowed the use of slaves. Other colonies having been established without their assistance, it was thought that a country, destined to be the bulwark of those possessions, ought not to be peopled by a set of slaves, who could not be in the least interested in the defence of their oppressors. But would this prohibition have taken place, had it been foreseen that colonists, who were
less

less favoured by the mother-country than their ^{B O O K} neighbours, who were situated in a country less ^{XVIII.} susceptible of culture, and in a hotter climate, would want strength and spirit to undertake a cultivation that required greater encouragement?

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BOOK XVIII. delusive hope of a change for the better is alone sufficient to quiet our imagination, and to prolong our miseries without end. What I here advance is confirmed by the almost universal example of the whole world. At the death of a tyrant, all nations flatter themselves with the hopes of a king. The tyrants continue their system of oppression, and die in peace; and the people still continue to groan under it, and to expect with patience a king who never appears. The successor, educated as his father or his grandfather, is prepared from his infancy to model himself after their example, unless he should have received from nature a strength of genius, a firmness of soul, a rectitude of judgment, and a fund of benevolence and equity, which may correct the defect of his education. Without this fortunate disposition, he will not inquire, in any circumstance, what is proper to be done, but what hath been done before him. He will not ask what is most suitable to the good of his subjects, whom he will consider as his nearest enemies, on account of the parade of guards that surround him; but he will study what will increase his despotism, and their servitude. He will remain ignorant during life of the most simple and most evident of truths; which is, that their strength and his are inseparable from each other. The example of the past will be his only rule of conduct, both on those occasions when it may be prudent to follow it, and on those when it would be proper to deviate from it. The measure which the ministry will adopt in politics, will always be that which shall be most analogous to the spirit of tyranny, the only one which has been decorated with the title of the great art of governing. When, therefore, the inhabitants of Georgia asked for slaves, in order to know whether

whether they should have been granted or refused to them, it was only necessary to examine whether they were required for the better cultivation of the lands, and the greater security of the property of the colony. BOOK XVIII.

In the mean while, the truly desperate situation of the new settlement proclaimed too forcibly the imprudence of the ministry, to make it possible to persevere in such fatal measures. At length the province received the same form of government which made the other colonies prosper. When it ceased to be a fief belonging to individuals, it became a truly national possession.

SINCE this fortunate revolution, Georgia hath improved considerably, though not so rapidly as was expected. It is true, that neither the vine, the olive-tree, nor silk, have been cultivated, as the mother-country wished; but it's marshes have furnished a tolerable quantity of rice, and indigo, superior in quality to that of Carolina, hath been produced upon the higher grounds. Before the 1st January 1768, a grant had been made of six hundred thirty-seven thousand one hundred and seventy acres of land. Those which, in 1763, were worth no more than 3 livres 7 sols 6 deniers*, were sold in 1776 for 67 livres 10 sols†. In 1769, the exportations of the colony amounted to 1,625,418 livres 9 sols 5 deniers‡; and since that time they have considerably increased.

THIS prosperity will undoubtedly be augmented. In proportion as the forests shall be felled, the air will become more salubrious, and the productions will increase with the population, which at present doth not exceed thirty thousand men, most of whom are slaves. However, as

* 22 9d. three farthings. † 2l. 16s. 3d.

‡ About 67,725l. 15s. 4d. three farthings.

BOOK XVIII. the lands are not so extensive in Georgia as in most of the other provinces, and that in the same proportion less of them are susceptible of culture, the riches of that colony will always be limited. Let us see whether Florida hath a right to expect a more brilliant destiny.

Florida
becomes a
Spanish
possession.

UNDER this name the ambition of Spain comprehended formerly all that tract of land in America, which extended from the Gulph of Mexico to the most Northern regions. But fortune, which sports with the vanity of nations, hath long since confined this unlimited denomination to the peninsula formed by the sea, between Georgia and Louisiana.

It was Luke Velasquès, whose memory ought to be holden in execration in this world, as he deserves to be punished in the next; it was that monster, to whom I can scarce give the name of man, who first landed upon this region, with the intention of obtaining slaves, either by stratagem or by force. The novelty of the spectacle attracted the neighbouring savages. They were invited to come on board the ships; they were intoxicated, put in irons, and the anchor was weighed, while the guns were fired upon the rest of the Indians, who remained upon the shore. Several of these unfortunate people, so cruelly torn from their own country, refused to take the food which was offered them, and perished from inanition. Others died of grief; and those who survived their despair, were buried in the mines of Mexico.

THESE insatiable gulphs required more victims. The pernicious Velasquès went in search of them again in the same country. He was known, and half of his infamous companions were murdered on their arrival. Those who fled from a justly implacable enemy, were shipwrecked; he himself

only escaped the fury of the waves, to lead the remainder of his detested life in shame, misery, and remorse.

SPAIN, had forgotten that part of the New World, when the memory of it was revived by a settlement made there by the French. The court of Madrid thought proper to drive from their possessions so active a nation; and they accordingly gave orders for the destruction of the infant colony. This command was put in execution in 1565; and the conquerors re-occupied the place, which was rendered an absolute desert by their cruelties. They were threatened with a lingering death, when they were relieved by the culture of sassafras.

This tree, which is an evergreen, is peculiar to America, and is better at Florida than in any other part of that hemisphere. It grows equally on the borders of the sea and upon the mountains, but always in a soil which is neither too dry nor too damp. It's roots are even with the surface of the ground. It's trunk, which is very straight, without leaves, and not high, is covered with a thick and dirty bark, of an ash colour, and throws out at it's summit some branches which spread out on the coasts. The leaves are disposed alternately, green on the upper, and white on the under surface, and are divided into three lobes. Sometimes they are found entire, especially in young plants. The branches are terminated by clusters of small yellow flowers. They are of the same kind as those of the laurel or cinnamon tree. The fruits, which succeed, are small, blue, pendent berries, fixed to a red pedicle, and to a calix of the same colour.

It's flower is taken in infusion, as mullein and tea is. The decoction of it's root is used with effect in intermittent fevers. The bark of

BOOK XVIII. the trunk hath an acrid and aromatic taste, and a smell similar to that of fennel and aniseed. The wood is whitish and less odoriferous. They are both used in medicine to promote perspiration, to attenuate thick and viscid humours, to remove obstructions, to cure the gout and the palsy. Sassafras was also formerly much prescribed in the venereal disease.

THE first Spaniards who settled there would probably have fallen a sacrifice to this last disorder, at least they would not have recovered from those dangerous fevers with which most of them were attacked on their arrival in Florida, either in consequence of the food of the country, or of the badness of the waters. But the savages taught them, that by drinking fasting, and at their meals, water in which the root of sassafras had been boiled they might depend upon a speedy recovery. The experiment upon trial proved successful.

WHAT can be the reason that this medicine, and so many others which produce extraordinary cures in those distant countries, seem to have lost almost all their efficacy when transplanted into our's? It must probably be owing to the climate being more favourable for perspiration, to the nature of the plant which degenerates and loses some part of it's strength during a long voyage, and especially to the nature of the disease, when joined to our intemperate way of living; and the obstinacy of which increases from the numberless disorders prevailing in our constitutions.

THE Spaniards established some small posts at San Matheo, at Saint Marc, and at Saint Joseph; but it was only at Saint Augustine, and at Pensacola that they properly formed settlements; the former

former on their arrival in the country, and the latter in 1696. BOOK
XVIII.

PENSACOLA was attacked and taken by the French during the short contests which divided the two houses of Bourbon in 1718; but it was soon restored.

IN 1740, the English besieged the former of these settlements in vain. The Scotch Highlanders, in endeavouring to cover the retreat of the assailants, were beaten and slain. One of their serjeants only was spared by the savage Indians, who, while they were fighting for the Spaniards, reserved him to undergo those torments which they inflict upon their prisoners. This man, it is said, on seeing the horrid tortures that awaited him, addressed the blood-thirsty multitude in the following manner:

“HEROES and patriarchs of the western world,
 “you were not the enemies that I sought for; but
 “you have at last been the conquerors. The
 “chance of war has thrown me in your power.
 “Make what use you think proper of the right
 “of conquest. This is a right I do not call in
 “question. But as it is customary in my coun-
 “try to offer a ransom for one’s life, listen to a
 “proposal not unworthy of your notice.
 “KNOW then, valiant Americans, that in the
 “country of which I am a native, there are some
 “men who possess a superior knowledge of the
 “secrets of nature. One of those sages, connected
 “to me by the ties of kindred, imparted to me,
 “when I became a soldier, a charm to make me
 “invulnerable. You must have observed how I
 “have escaped all your darts. Without such a
 “charm would it have been possible for me to
 “have survived all the mortal blows you have
 “aimed at me? For I appeal to your own valour,
 “to testify that mine has sufficiently exerted it-
 self,

BOOK
XVIII.

“ self, and has not avoided any danger. Life is
“ not so much the object of my request, as the
“ glory of communicating to you a secret of so
“ much consequence to your safety, and of ren-
“ dering the most valiant nation upon the earth
“ invincible. Suffer me only to have one of my
“ hands at liberty, in order to perform the cere-
“ monies of enchantment, of which I will now
“ make trial on myself before you.”

THE Indians listened with eagerness to this dis-
course, which was flattering both to their warlike
character, and their turn for the marvellous:
After a short consultation, they untied one of the
prisoner's arms. The highlander begged that they
would put his broad sword into the hands of the
most expert and stoutest man among them; and
at the same time laying bare his neck, after having
rubbed it, and muttering some words accompanied
with magic signs, he cried aloud with a cheerful
countenance, “ Observe now, O valiant Indians,
“ an incontestible proof of my honesty. Thou
“ warrior, who now holdest my keen cutting
“ weapon, do thou now strike with all thy
“ strength: far from being able to sever my head
“ from my body, thou wilt not even wound the
“ skin of my neck.”

He had scarcely spoken these words, when the
Indian aiming the most violent blow, struck off
the head of the serjeant, to the distance of twenty
feet. The savages astonished, stood motionless,
viewing the bloody corpse of the stranger; and
then turned their eyes upon one another, as if to
reproach each other with their blind credulity.
But admiring the artifice the prisoner had made
use of to avoid the torture by hastening his death,
they bestowed on his body the funeral honours of
their country. If this fact, the date of which is
too recent to admit of credit, has not all the
marks

marks of authenticity it should have, it will only be one falsehood more to be added to the accounts of travellers. BOOK
XVIII.

THE treaty of peace of 1763, put in the power of Great Britain, that same Florida which had resisted the strength of their arms twenty-three years before. At that time there were no more than six hundred inhabitants. It was with the sale of their hides, and with the provisions they furnished to their garrison, that they were to provide themselves with clothes, and to supply a small part of their wants, which were exceedingly confined. These miserable people went all to Cuba, though convinced that they would be obliged to beg their bread, if their monarch, moved with such an instance of affection, did not provide for their subsistence. Florida is
ceded to
Great Bri-
tain by the
court of
Madrid.

WHAT motive could induce the Spaniards to prefer an oppressive to a free government? Was it superstition, which cannot suffer the altars of the heretics near it's own? Was it prejudice, which renders suspicious the morals and the probity of those who profess a different religion? Was it the fear of seduction for themselves, and still more for their children? Long accustomed to idleness, did they imagine that they should be compelled to labour? Or hath man so bad an opinion of man, that he should rather choose to dispose of himself and his fate, than to abandon it to the mercy of his fellow-creature? However it may be, nothing but a desert remained to the power that obtained the possession; but was it not an acquisition to lose inhabitants not inured to fatigue, and who would never have been well affected?

GREAT BRITAIN congratulated itself upon the acquisition of the property of an immense province, the limits of which were still extended as far as the Mississippi.

BOOK XVIII. Mississippi, by the cession of one part of Louisiana. That power had for a long time been desirous of settling on a territory which would open an easy communication to them with the richest of the Spanish colonies. They did not give up the hopes of a smuggling trade, but they were aware that this precarious and momentary advantage was not sufficient to render their conquests flourishing, and they turned their labours and expectations principally towards cultivation.

What hath been done by England, and what she may expect to do in Florida. THE new acquisition was divided into two governments. It was thought that this would be a powerful inducement to carry on with greater zeal, and to direct with more vigour the cultivation of the lands. Ministry might also have determined upon this division, in expectation of always finding more submission in two separate provinces than in one alone.

SAINT AUGUSTINE became the capital of East Florida, and Pensacola of West Florida. These capitals, which were at the same time tolerable good harbours, did not undoubtedly unite all the conveniences they were susceptible of, but it was still a very fortunate circumstance to find those which they really did possess. The other colonies did not enjoy this advantage at their origin.

THE first colonists who settled in these countries were half-pay officers and disbanded soldiers. All those among them who had served in America and were settled there, obtained the grant of a piece of land proportionable to their rank. This favour was not extended to all the army that had fought in the New World. It would have been apprehended, that the military men of the three kingdoms who were in the same situation, might be tempted to forsake the mother-country, already too much exhausted by the last hostilities.

THE new colony received also cultivators from the neighbouring settlements, from the mother-country, and from several Protestant states. It also obtained some, whose arrival was a matter of astonishment to both hemispheres.

THE Greeks groan under the Ottoman tyranny and must be inclined to shake off this detested yoke. This was the opinion of Dr. Turnbull, when in 1767, he went to offer an asylum in British America to the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus. Several of them yielded to his solicitations, and for the sum of one hundred guineas he obtained leave from the government of the place to embark them at Modon. He landed in Corsica and at Minorca, and prevailed also upon some of the inhabitants of those two islands to follow him.

THE emigrants, to the number of a thousand, arrived in East Florida with their prudent conductor, where sixty thousand acres of land were granted to them. This would have been an immense possession, even if the climate had not destroyed any of them; but they had unfortunately been so much thwarted by the winds as to prevent their landing before summer, which is a dangerous season, and which destroyed one quarter of their number. They were mostly the old people who perished. They were numerous, because the judicious Turnbull chose to carry none with him but whole families.

THOSE who escaped this first disaster have since enjoyed perfect health, which has only been affected by a few fevers. The men are become stronger in their constitutions, and the women, who, on account of the change of climate, did not breed often at first, are at present very fruitful. It is presumed, that the children will be

taller

BOOK taller than they would have been in the country
 XVIII. from whence their parents came.

THE small colony, have received from their founder, institutions, which they have themselves approved, and which are observed. They are still no more than one entire family, where the spirit of concord must be kept up for a long time. On the first of January 1776, they had already cleared two thousand three hundred acres of a tolerably fertile soil. They had animals sufficient for their subsistence and for their labour. Their crops were sufficient for their own consumption, and they sold for 67,500 livres * worth of indigo. The industry and activity by which they are distinguished, give great expectations from time and experience.

Why should not Athens and Lacedæmon be one day revived in North America? Why should not the city of Turnbull become in a few centuries the residence of politeness, of the fine arts, and of eloquence? The new colony is less distant from this flourishing state than were the barbarous Pelasgians from the fellow citizens of Pericles. What difference there is between a settlement conceived and founded by a wise and pacific man, and the conquests of a long series of avaricious, extravagant, and sanguinary men; between the present state of South America and what it might have been, had those who discovered it, took possession of it and laid it waste, been animated with the same spirit as the worthy Turnbull? Will not nations learn by his example, that the foundation of a colony requires more wisdom than expence? The universe hath been peopled by one man and one woman only.

THE two Floridas, which in 1769, did not export productions to the amount of more than

673,209 livres 18 sols 9 deniers*, have a re-BOOK
 markable advantage over the rest of this great XVIII.
 continent. Situated in a great measure between
 two seas, they have nothing to fear from the
 frozen winds nor from the unforeseen variations
 in the temperature of the air, which at all seasons
 occasion such frequent and fatal devastations in
 the neighbourhood. - It is therefore to be hoped
 that the vine, the olive, the cotton tree, and
 other delicate plants will prosper there sooner and
 better than in any of the adjacent provinces. In
 1774, the society instituted in London for the
 encouragement of arts, manufactures, and sci-
 ences, gave a gold medal to Mr. Strachey, for his
 having produced as fine indigo as that which
 comes from Guatimala. Although, in the first
 paroxysms of enthusiasm, the qualities of this
 production have been but moderately attended
 to, yet it will become a source of riches for the
 colony.

THE soil of East Florida, however, being a
 great deal too sandy, constantly drove away all
 men who were desirous of making a rapid for-
 tune. It would scarce have been peopled, except
 by some extraordinary event. The troubles with
 which North America hath been agitated, have
 driven to that commonly barren soil a few peace-
 ful citizens, who had a settled aversion for dis-
 putes, and a still greater number of men, who,
 either from ambition, habit, or prejudice, were
 devoted to the interest of the mother-country.

THE same inducements have given colonists
 to the other Florida, which is much more fertile,
 especially on the pleasant borders of the Mississip-
 pi. This province hath had the advantage to
 furnish Jamaica, and several of the British islands
 in the West Indies with wood, and with various

* About 28,045l. 8s. 3d. halfp.

BOOK articles which they formerly received from the
 XVIII. several countries of New England. This population would have been still more rapid if the coasts of Pensacola had been more accessible, and if it's harbours had been less infested with worms. How greatly might the improvements of the two provinces be accelerated, if the new sovereigns of North America would depart from the maxims they have uniformly pursued, and would condescend to intermarriages with Indian families! And for what reason should this method of civilizing the savage tribes, which has been so successfully employed by the most enlightened politicians, be rejected by a free people, who, from their principles, must admit a greater equality than other nations? Would the English then be still reduced to the cruel alternative of seeing their crops burnt, and their husbandmen massacred, or of persecuting without intermission, and exterminating without pity, those wandering bands of natives? Ought they not to prefer to sanguinary and inglorious hostilities, a humane and infallible method of disarming the only enemy that remains to disturb their tranquillity?

THE English flatter themselves, that without the assistance of these alliances they shall soon be freed from the little interruption that remains. It is the fate of savage nations, say they, to waste away in proportion as the people of civilized states come to settle among them. Unable to submit to the labour of cultivation, and failing of their usual subsistence from the chase, they are reduced to the necessity of abandoning all those tracts of lands which industry and activity have undertaken to clear. This is actually the case with all the natives bordering on the European settlements. They keep daily retiring further into the woods; they fall back upon the Assenipovals and Hud-

son's

son's bay, where they must necessarily incroach BOOK
XVIII.
upon each other, and in a short time must perish
for want of subsistence.

BUT before this total destruction is brought about, events of a very serious nature may occur. We have not yet forgotten the generous Pondiack. That formidable warrior had broken with the English in 1762. Major Roberts, who was employed to reconcile him, sent him a present of brandy. Some Iroquois, who were standing round their chief, shuddered at the sight of this liquor. Not doubting but that it was poisoned, they insisted that he should not accept so suspicious a present. *How can it be,* said their leader, *that a man, who knows my esteem for him, and the signal services I have done him, should entertain a thought of taking away my life?* Saying this, he received and drank the brandy with a confidence equal to that of the most renowned hero of antiquity.

By many instances of magnanimity similar to this, the eyes of the savage nations had all been fixed upon Pondiack. His design was to unite them in a body for the defence of their lands and independence. Several unfortunate circumstances concurred to defeat this grand project; but it may be resumed, and it is not impossible that it may succeed. The usurpers would then be under a necessity of protecting their frontier against an enemy, that hath none of those expences to sustain, or evils to dread, which war brings with it among civilized nations; and will find the advantages they have promised themselves from conquests made at the expence of so much treasure and so much blood, considerably retarded, at least, if not entirely lost. Should the English disdain an advice dictated to them through me by justice and humanity, may another Pondiack arise from his ashes and consummate his plan.

BOOK

XVIII.

Extent of
the British
dominions
in North
America.

THE two Floridas, part of Louisiana, and all Canada, obtained at the same æra, either by conquest or treaty, rendered the English masters of all that space, which extends from the river St. Lawrence to the Mississippi; so that without reckoning Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and the other islands of North America, they would have been in possession of the most extensive empire that ever was formed upon the face of the globe.

THIS vast territory is divided from north to south by a chain of high mountains, which alternately receding from and approaching to the coast, leave between them and the ocean a tract of land of a hundred and fifty, two hundred, and sometimes three hundred miles in breadth. Beyond these Apalachian mountains is an immense desert, into which some travellers have ventured as far as eight hundred leagues, without finding an end to it. It is supposed that the rivers at the extremity of these uncultivated regions have a communication with the South-sea. If this conjecture, which is not destitute of probability, should be confirmed by experience, England would unite in her colonies all the branches of communication and commerce of the world. As her territories extend from one American sea to the other, she may be said to join the four quarters of the world. From all her European ports, from all her African settlements, she freights and sends out ships to the New World. From her maritime settlements in the east she would have a direct channel to the West Indies by the Pacific Ocean. She would discover those slips of land, or branches of the sea, the isthmus of the strait, which lies between the northern extremities of Asia and America. By the vast extent of her colonies she would have in her own power all the avenues of trade, and would secure all the advantages

vantages of it by her numerous fleets. Perhaps, BOOK
XVIII. by having the empire of all the seas, she might aspire to the supremacy of both worlds. But it is not in the destiny of any single nation to attain to such a pitch of greatness. Is then extent of dominion so flattering an object, when conquests are made only to be lost again? Let the Romans speak! Does it constitute power, to possess such a share of the globe, that some part shall always be enlightened by the rays of the sun, if while we reign in one world we are to languish in obscurity in the other? Let the Spaniards answer!

THE English will be happy if they can preserve, by the means of culture and navigation, an empire, which must ever be found too extensive, when it cannot be maintained without bloodshed. But as this is the price, which ambition must always pay for the success of its enterprises, it is by commerce alone that conquests can become valuable to a maritime power. Never did war procure for any conqueror a territory more improveable by human industry than that of the northern continent of America. Although the land in general be so low near the sea, that in many parts it is scarcely distinguishable from the top of the mainmast, even after anchoring in fourteen fathom, yet the coast is very easy of access, because the depth diminishes insensibly as you advance. From this circumstance it is easy to determine exactly by the line the distance of the main land. Beside this, the mariner has another sign, which is the appearance of trees, that, seeming to rise out of the sea, form an enchanting object to his view upon a shore, which presents roads and harbours without number, for the reception and preservation of shipping.

THE productions of the earth arise in great abundance from a soil newly cleared; but on the other

BOOK XVIII. other hand, they are a long time before they come to maturity. Many plants are even so late in flower, that the winter prevents their ripening; while, on our continent, both the fruit and the seed of them are gathered in a more northern latitude. What can be the cause of this phenomenon? Before the arrival of the Europeans, the North Americans, living upon the produce of their hunting and fishery, left their lands totally uncultivated. The whole country was covered with woods and thickets. Under the shade of these forests, grew a multitude of plants. The leaves, which fell every winter from the trees, formed a bed three or four inches thick. Before the damps had quite rooted this species of manure, the summer came on; and nature, left entirely to herself, continued heaping incessantly upon each other these effects of her fertility. The plants buried under wet leaves, through which they with difficulty made their way in a long course of time, became accustomed to a long vegetation. The force of culture has not yet been able to subdue the habit fixed and confirmed by ages, nor have the dispositions of nature given way to the influence of art. But this climate, so long unknown or neglected by mankind, presents them with advantages, which supply the defects and ill consequences of that omission.

Trees peculiar to North America

It produces almost all the trees that are natives of our climate. It has also others peculiar to itself, among which are the sugar maple, and the candleberry myrtle.

The latter, thus named on account of its produce, is a branching, tortuous shrub, rather irregular, and which delights in a moist soil. It is therefore seldom found at any distance from the sea, or from large rivers. Its leaves, alternately disposed,

disposed, are narrow, entire, or denticulated, and always covered with small gilded points, which are almost imperceptible. It bears male and female flowers, upon two different plants. The first form a bezil, every scale of which bears six stamina. The second, disposed alike on young sprigs, have, instead of stamina, an ovary, surmounted with styles, which becomes a very small, hard, and spherical shell, which is covered with a granulated, white, and unctuous substance. These fruits, which, together, appear like a bunch of grapes, are gathered at the end of the autumn, and thrown into boiling water. The substance with which they are covered, detaches itself, swims at the top, and is skimmed off. As soon as this is grown cold, it is commonly of a dirty green colour. To purify it, it is boiled a second time, when it becomes transparent; and acquires an agreeable green colour.

THIS substance, which in quality and consistence is a medium between tallow and wax, supplied the place of both to the first Europeans who landed in this country. The dearth of it has occasioned it to be less used, in proportion as the number of domestic animals hath increased. Nevertheless, as it burns slower than tallow, is less subject to melt, and has not that disagreeable smell, it is still preferred, wherever it can be procured at a moderate price. If it be mixed with a fourth part of tallow, it burns much better, but this is not it's only property. It serves to make excellent soap and plaisters for wounds: it is even employed for the purpose of sealing letters. The sugar maple merits no less attention than the candleberry myrtle, as may be conceived from it's name.

B O O K **XVIII.** THIS tree, the nature of which is to flourish by the side of streams, or in marshy places, grows to the height of the oak. It's trunk is straight and cylindrical, and covered with a tolerably thin bark. It's branches, which are always opposite, are covered with leaves disposed in the same manner, which are whitish underneath, and are divided into five acute lobes. It's flowers, collected in clusters, have a calix, with five divisions, charged with as many petals, and eight stamina, which are sometimes abortive. In the center of them is a pistil, which becomes a fruit, composed of two pods, pressed together, and closed at the bottom, open and alated at the top, and filled with a single seed.

IN the month of March, an incision, of the depth of three or four inches, is made at the lower part of the trunk of the maple. A pipe is put into the orifice, through which the juice that flows from it, is conveyed into a vessel placed to receive it. The young trees are so full of this liquor, that in half an hour they will fill a quart bottle. The old ones afford less, but of much better quality. No more than one incision, or two at most, can be made without draining and weakening the tree. If three or four pipes be applied, it soon dies.

THE sap of this tree has naturally the flavour of honey. To reduce it to sugar, it is evaporated by fire, till it has acquired the consistence of a thick syrup. It is then poured into moulds of earthen ware, or bark of the birch-tree. The syrup hardens as it cools, and becomes a red kind of sugar, almost transparent, and pleasant enough to the taste. To give it a whiteness, flour is sometimes mixed up with it in the making; but this ingredient always changes the flavour of it. This kind of sugar is used for the same purposes,

as that which is made from canes; but eighteen or twenty pounds of juice go to the making of one pound of sugar, so that it can be of no great use in trade. Honey is the sugar of the savages of our countries; the maple is the sugar of the savages of America. Nature displays, in all parts, it's sweets, and it's wonders.

AMIDST the multitude of birds which inhabit the forests of North America, there is one extremely singular in it's kind; this is the humming bird, a species of which, on account of it's smallness, is called *Poiseau mouche*, or the fly bird. It's beak is long and pointed like a needle; and it's claws are not thicker than a common pin. Upon it's head it has a black tuft of incomparable beauty. It's breast is of a rose colour, and it's belly white as milk. The back, wings, and tail are grey, bordered with silver, and streaked with the brightest gold. The down, which covers all the plumage of this little bird, gives it so delicate a cast, that it resembles a velvet flower, the beauty of which fades on the slightest touch.

Birds peculiar to North America.

THE spring is the only season for this charming bird. It's nest, perched on the middle of a bough, is covered on the outside with a grey and greenish moss, and on the inside lined with a very soft down gathered from yellow flowers. This nest is half an inch in depth, and about an inch in diameter. There are never found more than two eggs in it, about the size of the smallest peas. Many attempts have been made to rear the young ones; but they have never lived more than three weeks or a month at most.

THE humming bird lives entirely on the juice of flowers, fluttering from one to another, like the bees. Sometimes it buries itself in the calix of the largest flowers. It's flight produces a buzzing noise like that of a spinning-wheel.

BOOK
XVIII

When tired, it lights upon the nearest tree or stake; rests a few minutes, and flies again to the flowers. Notwithstanding its weakness, it does not appear timid; but will suffer a man to approach within eight or ten feet of it.

Who would imagine, that so diminutive an animal could be malicious, passionate, and quarrelsome? These birds are often seen fighting together with great fury and obstinacy. The strokes they give with their beak are so sudden and so quick, that they are not distinguishable by the eye. Their wings move with such agility, that they seem not to have any kind of motion. They are more heard than seen; and their noise resembles that of a sparrow.

THESE little birds are all impatience. When they come near a flower, if they find it faded and withered, they tear all the leaves asunder. The precipitation with which they peck it, betrays, as it is said, the rage with which they are animated. Towards the end of the summer, thousands of flowers may be seen stript of all their leaves by the fury of the humming birds. It may be doubted, however, whether this mark of resentment is not rather an effect of hunger than of an unnecessarily destructive instinct.

EVERY species of beings hath another that is an enemy to it. That of the fly-bird is a large spider, which is very greedy of its eggs. This is the sword which is continually suspended over the tyrant's head.

NORTH AMERICA was formerly devoured by insects. As the air was not then purified, the ground cleared, the woods cut down, nor the waters drained off, these little animals destroyed, without opposition, all the productions of nature. None of them were useful to mankind. There is only one at present, which is the bee; but this is supposed

supposed to have been carried from the Old to the New World. The savages call it the English fly; and it is only found near the coasts. These circumstances announce it to be of foreign original. The bees fly in numerous swarms through the forests of the New World. Their numbers are continually increasing, and their honey, which is converted to several uses, supplies many persons with food. Their wax becomes daily a considerable branch of trade.

THE bee is not the only present which Europe has had it in her power to make to America. She has enriched her also with a breed of domestic animals, for the savages had none. America had not yet associated beasts with men in the labours of cultivation, when the Europeans carried over thither oxen, sheep, and horses. They were all, at first, exposed, as well as man, to epidemical diseases. If the contagion did not attack them, as it did their proud sovereign, in the source even of their generation, several of their species were at least re-produced with much difficulty. All of them, except the hog, lost much of their strength and size. It was not till late, and that only in some places, that they recovered their original properties. Without doubt, it was the climate, the nature of the air, and the soil, which prevented the success of their transplantation: Such is the law of climates, which wills every people, every animal and vegetable species to grow and flourish in it's native soil. The love of their country seems an ordinance of nature prescribed to all beings, as the desire of preserving their existence.

BOOK
XVIII.

Europe
supplies
North
America
with do-
mestic
animals.

European
grain hath
been culti-
vated in
North
America.

YET there are certain correspondences of climate, which form expectations to the general rule against the transplanting of animals and plants. When the English first landed on the North-

American

B O O K rican continent, the wandering inhabitants of those
XVIII. desolate regions had scarcely arrived at the cultivation of a small quantity of maize, a plant which resembles a reed. It's leaves, which are large, and very long, surround, at their basis, the stem, which is round and knotty at intervals. It is terminated by a panicle of male flowers. Each of the bunches which compose it, hath two flowers, covered with two common scales; and each flower hath three stamina, inclosed between two scales proper to them. At the axilla of the inferior leaves, the female flowers are found, disposed in a very close cluster, upon a thick and fleshy axis, concealed under several coverings. The pistil of these flowers, surrounded with some small scales, and surmounted with a long style, becomes a farinaceous seed, almost spherical, and half sunk into the common axis. It's maturity is known by it's colour, and by the separation of the covering, through which the blade of corn may be seen.

THIS species of corn, unknown at that time in Europe, was the only one known in the New World. The culture of it was by no means difficult. The savages contented themselves with taking off the turf, making a few holes in the ground, with a stick; and throwing into each of them a single grain, which produced two hundred and fifty or three hundred. The method of preparing it for food was not more complicated. They pounded it in a wooden or stone mortar, and made it into a paste, which they baked under embers. They often ate it toasted merely upon the coals.

THE maize has many advantages. It's leaves are useful in feeding cattle; a circumstance of great moment where there are very few meadows. A hungry, light, sandy soil, agrees best with this plant.

plant. The seed may be frozen in the spring two or three times without impairing the harvest. In short, it is of all plants the one that is least injured by the excess of drought or moisture. BOOK XVIII.

THESE causes, which introduced the cultivation of it in that part of the world, induced the English to preserve and even promote it in their settlements. They sold it to the southern part of Europe, and to the East Indies, and employed it for their own use. They did not, however, neglect to enrich their plantations with European grains, all of which succeeded, though not so perfectly as in their native soil. With the superfluity of their harvests, the produce of their herds, and the clearing of their forests, the colonists formed a trade with all the wealthiest and most populous provinces of the New World.

THE mother-country, finding that her northern colonies had supplanted her in her trade with South America, and fearing that they would soon become her rivals, even in Europe, at all the markets for salt provisions and corn, endeavoured to divert their industry to objects that might be more useful to her. An opportunity soon presented itself.

THE greatest part of the pitch and tar the English wanted for their fleet, used to be furnished by Sweden. In 1703, that state was so blind to its true interest, as to lay this important branch of commerce, under the restrictions of an exclusive charter. The first effect of this monopoly was a sudden and considerable increase of price. England taking advantage of this blunder of the Swedes, encouraged by considerable premiums the importation of all sorts of naval stores which North-America could furnish. North America hath supplied Europe with naval stores.

THESE rewards did not immediately produce the effects that was expected from them. A bloody

BOOK XVIII. war, raging in each of the four quarters of the world, prevented both the mother-country and the colonies from giving to this beginning revolution in commerce, the attention which it merited. The northern nations, which had all the same motives of interest, taking this inaction, which was only occasioned by the hurry of a war, for an absolute proof of inability, thought they might without danger lay every restrictive clause upon the exportation of marine stores, that could contribute to enhance the price of them. For this purpose they entered into mutual engagements which were made public in 1718, a time, when all the maritime powers still felt the effects of a war, that had continued fourteen years.

ENGLAND was alarmed at so odious a convention. She dispatched to America men of sufficient ability to convince the inhabitants how necessary it was for them to assist the views of the mother-country; and of sufficient experience to direct their first attempts towards great objects, without making them pass through those minute details, which quickly extinguish an ardour excited with difficulty. In a very short time, such quantities of pitch, tar, turpentine, yards, and masts, were brought into the harbours of Great Britain, that she was enabled to supply the nations around her.

THIS sudden success blinded the British government. The cheapness of the naval stores furnished by the colonies, in comparison of those which were brought from the Baltic, gave them an advantage; which seemed to insure a constant preference. Upon this the ministry concluded that the bounties might be withdrawn. But they had not taken into their calculation the difference of freight, which was entirely in favour of their rivals. A total stop ensued in this branch of trade,

trade, and made them sensible of their error. In 1729, they revived the bounties; which, though they were not laid so high as formerly, were sufficient to give to the vent of American stores the greatest superiority, at least in England, over those of the northern nations. BOOK
XVIII.

THE woods, though they constituted one of the principal riches of the colonies, had hitherto been overlooked by the governors of the mother-country. The produce of them had long been exported by the English to Spain, Portugal, and the different markets in the Mediterranean, where it was bought up for building and other uses. As these traders did not take in return merchandise sufficient to complete their cargoes, it had been a practice with the Hamburgers, and even the Dutch to import on their bottoms the produce of the most fertile climates of Europe. This double trade of export, and carrying the merchandise of other nations, had considerably augmented the British navigation. The parliament, being informed of this advantage, in the year 1722, immediately exempted the timber of the colonies from all those duties of importation, to which Russian, Swedish, and Danish timber are subject. This first favour was followed by a bounty, which, at the same time that it comprehended every species of wood in general, was principally calculated for those which are employed in ship-building. Unfortunately, the materials of the New World were found to be very inferior in quality to those of the Old; they were, however, employed preferably to the latter by the English navy. England drew its yards and its masts from North America, and was likewise desirous of getting sails and rigging from thence.

THE French Protestants, who, when driven from their country by a prince, become infected with

B O O K

XVIII

with a spirit of bigotry, carried their national industry into all the countries of his enemies, and taught England the value of flax and hemp, two commodities of the utmost importance to a maritime power. Both these plants were cultivated with success in Scotland and Ireland; but the manufactures of the nation were chiefly supplied with them from Russia. To put a stop to this foreign importation, it was proposed to grant a bounty to North America of 135 livres * for every ton of these articles. This was doing a great deal; and yet so considerable an encouragement had no great success. There were not many lands in that part of the New World which were good enough for a production which prospers only upon an excellent soil. This region abounds more in iron, that metal which is destined to conquer the gold and silver of the south.

The iron of North America hath been conveyed into our climates

THIS most serviceable of metals, so necessary to mankind, was unknown to the Americans, till the Europeans taught them the most fatal use of it, that of making weapons. The English themselves long neglected the iron mines, which nature had lavished on the continent where they were settled. That channel of wealth had been diverted from the mother-country by being clogged with enormous duties. The proprietors of the national mines, in concert with those of the coppice woods, which are used in the working of them, had procured imposts to be laid on them that amounted to a prohibition. By corruption, intrigue, and sophistry, these enemies to the public good, had stifled a competition, which would have been fatal to their interests. At length the government took the first step towards a right conduct. The importation of American iron into

the port of London was granted, duty free; but at the same time it was forbidden to be carried to any other ports, or even more than ten miles inland. This whimsical restriction continued till 1757. At that time the general voice of the people called upon the parliament to repeal an ordinance so manifestly contrary to every principle of public utility, and to extend to the whole kingdom a privilege which had been granted exclusively to the capital.

THOUGH nothing could be more reasonable than this demand, it met with the strongest opposition. Combinations of interested individuals were formed, to represent, that the hundred and nine forges worked in England, not reckoning those of Scotland, produced annually eighteen thousand tons of iron, and employed a great number of able workmen; that the mines, which were inexhaustible, would have supplied a much greater quantity, had not a perpetual apprehension prevailed, that the duties on American iron would be taken off; that the iron works carried on in England consumed annually one hundred and ninety-eight thousand cords of underwood, and that those woods furnished, moreover, bark for the tanneries, and materials for ship-building; and that the American iron, not being proper for steel, for making sharp instruments, or many of the utensils of navigation, would contribute very little to lessen the importation from abroad, and would have no other effect than that of putting a stop to the forges of Great Britain.

THESE groundless representations had no weight with the parliament, who saw clearly, that unless the price of the original materials could be lessened, the nation would soon lose the numberless manufactures of iron and steel, by which it had so long been enriched; and there was no time to be

B O O K lost in putting a stop to the progress other nations were making in these works. It was therefore resolved, that the free importation of iron from America should be permitted in all the ports of England. This wise resolution was accompanied with an act of justice. The proprietors of cop-pices were, by a statute of Henry the Eighth, forbidden to clear their lands; but the parliament took off this prohibition, and left them at liberty to make use of their estates as they should think proper.

PREVIOUS to these regulations, Great Britain used to pay annually to Spain, Norway, Sweden, and Russia, ten millions of livres * for the iron she purchased of them. This tribute is greatly lessened, and will still decrease. The ore is found in such quantities in America, and is so easily separated from the ground, that the English did not despair of having it in their power to furnish Portugal, Turkey, Africa, the East Indies, and every country in the world with which they had any commercial connections.

PERHAPS the English might be too sanguine in their representations of the advantages they expected from so many articles of importance to their navy. But it was sufficient for them, if by the assistance of their colonies they could free themselves from that dependence in which the northern powers of Europe had hitherto kept them, with regard to the equipment of their fleets. Nothing appeared to them more capable of checking their natural ardour for the empire of the sea, which alone could insure to them the empire of the New World.

AFTER having paved the way to that grand object, by forming a free, independent navy, superior to that of every other nation; England has

Can it be
expected
that wine
and silk

adopted every measure that could contribute to her enjoyment of a species of conquest she had made in America, not so much by the force of her arms as by her industry. In proportion as the settlements, from their natural tendency, advanced from the north to the south, fresh projects and enterprises, suitable to the nature of the soil and of the climate, suggested themselves. To the wood, the grains, and the cattle, which had been the former productions, were added successively, rice, tobacco, indigo, and other riches. The English, who had no wine of their own growth in Europe, resolved to endeavour to procure that also from the New Hemisphere.

BOOK XVIII.
will prosper in North America.

UPON the northern continent of North America are found prodigious quantities of wild vines, which bear grapes, different in colour, size, and quantity, but all of a sour and disagreeable flavour. It was supposed that good management would give these plants that perfection, which unassisted nature had denied them; and French vine-dressers were invited into a country, where neither public nor private impositions took away their inclination to labour, by depriving them of the fruits of their industry. The repeated experiments they made, both with American and European plants, were all equally unsuccessful. The juice of the grape was too watery, too weak, and too difficult to preserve. The country was too full of woods, which attract and confine the moist and hot vapours; the seasons were too unsettled, and the insects too numerous near the forests, to suffer a production to grow up and prosper, of which the English, and all other nations who have it not, are so ambitious. The time will come, perhaps, when this country will furnish a liquor, in the preparation of which most parts of the globe are employed, and the use of which many

B O O K many other parts are so much attached to : but
 { **XVIII.** this event will not happen for several centuries,
 and after several repeated experiments. It is
 most probable that the harvest of the vine will
 be preceded by that of silk ; the work of that lit-
 tle worm which clothes mankind with the leaves
 of trees digested in it's entrails.

A VERY considerable sum of money was an-
 nually exported from Great Britain for the pur-
 chase of this rich production ; it was therefore
 determined to obtain it from Carolina ; which,
 from the mildness of the climate, and the great
 abundance of mulberry trees, seemed favourable
 to the project. Some attempts made by the
 government to attract some Switzers into the
 colony, were yet more successful than could have
 been expected. Yet the progress of this branch
 of trade has not been answerable to so promising
 a beginning. The blame has been laid on the
 inhabitants, who buying only Negro men, from
 whom they received an immediate and certain
 profit, neglected to have women, who with their
 children might have been employed in bringing
 up silk-worms, an occupation suitable to the
 weakness of that sex, and to the tenderest age.
 But it ought to have been considered, that men,
 coming from another hemisphere into a rude un-
 cultivated country, would apply their first care to
 the cultivation of esculent plants, breeding cattle,
 and the toils of immediate necessity. This is the
 natural and constant proceeding of well-governed
 states. From agriculture, which is the source of
 population, they rise to the arts of luxury ; and
 the arts of luxury nourish commerce, which is
 the child of industry and parent of wealth. In
 1769, the parliament were of opinion that this
 period was at length arrived ; and they granted a
 bounty of 25 per cent. for several years on all raw
 silks

silks imported from the colonies; a bounty of 20 per cent. for seven years following, and for seven years after that a bounty of 15 per cent. This encouragement would necessarily be followed by the cultivation of cotton and olive trees, and of several other plants. The nation thought, that there are few productions, either of Europe or Asia, which might not be transplanted and cultivated with more or less success on some of the vast countries of North America. Men only were wanting; and no proper precautions were neglected to increase their number.

THE first persons who landed in this desert and savage region were Englishmen, who had been persecuted at home for their civil and religious opinions.

Without
kind of
men the
provinces
of North
America
were peo-
pled.

IT was not to be expected that this first emigration would be attended with important consequences. The inhabitants of Great Britain are so strongly attached to their native soil, that nothing less than civil wars or revolutions can incline those among them, who have any property, character, or industry, to a change of climate and country: for which reason, the re-establishment of public tranquillity in the mother-country was likely to put an insurmountable bar to the progress of American cultivation.

ADD to this, that the English, though naturally active, ambitious, and enterprising, were ill-adapted to the business of clearing the soil of the New World. Accustomed to a quiet life, ease, and many conveniences, nothing but the enthusiasm of religion or politics could support them under the labours, miseries, wants and calamities, inseparable from new plantations.

It is further to be observed, that, though England might have been able to overcome these difficulties, she ought not to have wished to do it.

Without

BOOK
XVIII

Without doubt, the founding of colonies, rendering them flourishing, and enriching herself with their productions, was an advantageous prospect to her; but those advantages would be dearly purchased at the expence of her own population.

HAPPILY for her, the intolerant and despotic spirit that prevailed in most countries in Europe, forced numberless victims to take refuge in an uncultivated tract, which, in it's state of desolation, seemed to implore that assistance for itself which it offered to the unfortunate. These men, who had escaped from the rod of tyranny, in crossing the seas, abandoned all the hopes of return, and attached themselves for ever to a country, which at the same time afforded them an asylum and an easy quiet subsistence. Their good fortune could not remain for ever unknown. Multitudes, particularly from Germany, flocked to partake of it. One of the advantages which the emigrants proposed to themselves was the becoming citizens throughout the whole extent of the British dominions, after a residence of seven years in any of the colonies.

WHILE tyranny and persecution were destroying and exhausting population in Europe, English America was beginning to be filled with three sorts of inhabitants. The first class, which is the most numerous, consists of freemen.

THE Europeans, who overrun and desolate the globe for these three centuries past, have scattered colonies in most of the points of it's circumference; and their race hath more or less degenerated every where. The English settlements of North America appeared to have undergone a similar fate. The inhabitants were universally thought to be less robust in labour, less powerful in war, and less adapted to the arts,
than

than their ancestors. Because the care of clearing the lands, of purifying the air, of altering the climate, and of improving nature, had absorbed all the faculties of this people; transplanted under another sky, it was concluded that they were degenerated, and unable to elevate their minds to any complicated speculations.

B O O K
XVIII.

In order to dispel this fatal prejudice, it became necessary that a Franklin should teach the philosophers of our continent the art of governing the thunder. It was necessary that the pupils of this illustrious man, should throw a striking light upon several branches of the natural sciences. It was necessary that eloquence should renew, in that part of the New World, those strong and rapid impressions which it had made in the proudest republics of antiquity. It was necessary that the rights of mankind, and the rights of nations, should be firmly established there, in original writings, which will be the delight and the consolation of the most distant ages.

Works of imagination, and of taste, will soon follow those of reasoning and observation. New England will soon, perhaps, be able to quote it's Homer, it's Theocritus, and it's Sophocles. Neither assistance, nor masters, nor models, are now wanting. Education is diffused, and improves daily. There are, in proportion, more persons well brought up, and they have more leisure for prosecuting the bent of their genius, than men have in Europe, where the education, even of youth, is often contrary to the progress and to the unfolding of genius and of reason.

By a singular contrast with the Old World, in which the arts have passed from the south towards the north, we shall find that in the New World, the north will serve to enlighten the southern parts. Hitherto, the mind as well as

BOOK XVIII. the body hath appeared, enervated, in the W Indies. Men in those parts, endowed with vivacity and early penetration, have a quick conception, but they do not persevere in study, nor they use themselves to long-continued thought. Most of them have a great facility for acquiring every kind of knowledge, but have no decision for any particular science. As they are forward, and come to maturity before us, they are far from perfection, and we are almost as near it as we can be. The glory and happiness of producing a change in their dispositions must be the work of English America. But it is necessary that it should take steps conformable to that noble design, and aim, by justice and laudable means, to form a set of people fit for the creation of a New World. This is what hath not yet been done.

THE second class of colonists was formerly composed of malefactors which the mother-country transported, after condemnation, to America and who were bound to a servitude of seven or fourteen years to the planters who had purchased them from the courts of justice. These corrupted men, always disposed to commit fresh crimes, have at length been universally neglected.

THEY have been replaced by indigent persons whom the impossibility of subsisting in Europe has driven into the New World. After having bought and sold the Negro, there was but one crime which could go beyond this, this was, to sell one's countryman, without having bought him; and to find some person who would buy him; accordingly this has been done. Having embarked without being able to pay for their passage, these wretched men are at the disposal of their captain who sells them to whom he chuses. This sort of slavery is for a longer or shorter time; but it

can never exceed eight years. If among these emigrants there are any who are not of age, their servitude lasts till they arrive at that period, which is fixed at twenty-one for the boys, and eighteen for the girls. BOOK
XVIII

NONE of those who are contracted for, have a right to marry without the approbation of their master, who sets what price he chuses on his consent. If any one of them should run away, and be retaken, he is to serve a week for each day's absence, a month for every week, and six months for one. The proprietor who does not think proper to receive again one who has deserted from his service, may sell him to whom he chuses, but that is only for the term of the first contract. Besides, this service doth not carry any ignominy with it; and the purchaser does all that lies in his power to lessen the stain received by this kind of sale and purchase. At the end of his servitude, the contracted person enjoys all the rights of a free citizen. With his freedom, he receives from the master whom he has served, either implements for husbandry, or utensils proper for his work.

BUT with whatever appearance of justice this species of traffic may be coloured, the greatest part of the strangers who go over to America under these conditions, would never go on board a ship, if they were not inveigled away. Some artful kidnappers from the fens of Holland spread themselves over the Palatinate, Suabia, and the cantons of Germany, which are the best peopled or the least happy. There they set forth with raptures the delights of the New World, and the fortunes easily acquired in that country. Simple men, seduced by these magnificent promiles, blindly follow these infamous brokers, engaged in this scandalous commerce, who deliver them over to factors at Amsterdam, or Rotterdam.

BOOK
XVIII.

These, who are in the pay of companies, who have undertaken to stock the colonies with inhabitants, give a gratuity to the men employed in this service. Whole families are sold, without their knowledge, to masters at a distance, who impose the harder conditions upon them, as hunger and necessity do not permit the sufferers to give a refusal. America acquires it's supplies of men for husbandry, as princes do for war, by the same artifices; but with a less honest, and perhaps; a more inhuman design; for who knows the number of those who die, or who survive, their expectations! The deception is perpetually carried on in Europe, by carefully suppressing all correspondence with America, which might unveil a mystery of imposture and iniquity, too well disguised by the interested principles which gave rise to it.

BUT, in a word, there would not be so many dupes, if there were fewer victims. It is the oppression of government which makes these chimerical ideas of fortune be adopted by the credulity of the people. Men, unfortunate in their private affairs, vagabonds, or contemptible at home, have nothing worse to fear in a foreign climate, and easily pursue the prospect of a better lot. The means made use of to retain them in a country, where chance has given them birth, are only calculated to excite in them a desire to quit it. It is vainly supposed that they are to be confined by prohibitions; menaces, and punishments: these do but exasperate them, and drive them to desertion by the very forbidding of it. They should be attached by milder means, and by future expectations; whereas they are imprisoned and bound: man, born free, is restrained from attempting to exist in regions, where heaven and earth offer him an asylum. It has been thought better to
 stile

stifle him in his cradle, than to let him seek for his subsistence in some favourable climate. It is not judged proper even to leave him the choice of his burial-place.—Tyrants in policy! these are the effects of your laws! People, where then are your rights? BOOK XVIII.

Is it then become necessary to lay open to the nations the schemes that are formed against their liberty? Must they be told, that by a conspiracy of the most odious nature, certain powers have lately entered into an agreement, which must deprive even despair itself of every resource? For these two centuries past, all the princes of Europe have been fabricating, in the secret recesses of the cabinet, that long and heavy chain with which the people are encompassed on every side. At every negotiation fresh links were added to the chain so artificially contrived. Wars tended not to make states more extensive, but subjects more submissive, by gradually substituting military government to the mild and gentle influence of laws and morality. The several sovereigns have all equally strengthened themselves in their tyranny by their conquests, or by their losses. When they were victorious they reigned by their armies; when humbled by defeat, they held the command by the misery of their pusillanimous subjects; if they were either competitors or adversaries from motives of ambition, they entered into league or alliance, only to aggravate the servitude of their people. Whether they meant to excite war, or to preserve peace, they were certain of turning to the advantage of their authority, either the aggrandisement, or the humiliation of their people. If they ceded a province, they exhausted every other, that they might either recover it, or indemnify themselves for the loss. If they acquired a new one, the haughtiness they affected

BOOK XVIII. affected out of it, was the occasion of cruelty and extortion within. They borrowed one of another, by turns, every art and invention, whether of peace or of war, that might concur sometimes to foment natural antipathy and rivalry, sometimes to obliterate the character of the nations; as if there had been a tacit agreement among the rulers to subject the nations, one by means of another, to the despotism they had constantly been preparing for them. Ye people, who all groan more or less secretly, be not blinded with respect to your condition; those who never entertained any affection for you, are come now not to have any fear for you. In the extremity of wretchedness one single resource remained for you; that of escape and emigration.—Even that has been shut against you.

PRINCES have agreed among themselves to restore to one another deserters, who, for the most part, enlisted by compulsion or by fraud, have a right to escape; not only villains, who, in reality, ought not to find a refuge any where; but indifferently all their subjects, whatever may be the motive that obliged them to quit their country.

THUS all ye unhappy labourers, who find neither subsistence nor work in your own countries, after they have been ravaged and rendered barren by the exactions of finance; thus ye die where ye had the misfortune to be born, ye have no refuge but in the grave.¹ All ye artists and workmen of every species, harassed by monopolies, who are refused the right of working at your own free disposal, unless you have purchased the privileges of your calling: ye who are kept for your whole life in the workshop, for the purpose of enriching a privileged factor: ye whom a court-mourning leaves for months together without bread or wages;

wages; never expect to live out of a country where soldiers and guards keep you imprisoned; go, wander in despair, and die of regret. If ye venture to complain, your cries will be re-echoed and lost in the depth of a dungeon; if ye make your escape, ye will be pursued even beyond mountains and rivers; ye will be sent back, or given up, bound hand and foot, to torture; and to that eternal restraint, to which you have been condemned from your birth. Do you likewise, whom nature has endowed with a free spirit, independent of prejudice and error, who dare to think and talk like men, do you erase from your minds every idea of truth, nature, and humanity! Applaud every incroachment made on your country and your fellow-citizens, or else maintain a profound silence in the recesses of obscurity and concealment. All ye who were born in those barbarous states, where the condition for the mutual restoration of deserters has been entered into by the several princes, and sealed by a treaty; recollect the inscription Dante has engraven on the gate of his infernal region: *Voi ch' entrate, lasciate omai ogni speranza: You who enter here, leave behind you every hope.*

WHAT! is there then no asylum remaining beyond the seas? Will not England open her colonies to those wretches, who voluntarily prefer her dominion to the insupportable yoke of their own country? What occasion has she for that infamous band of contracted slaves, seduced and debauched by the shameful means employed by every state to increase their armies? What need has she of those beings still more miserable, of whom she composes another class of her inhabitants?

Yes, by an antiquity, the more shocking as it is apparently the less necessary; the northern pro-

B O O K vines have had recourse to the traffic and slavery
 of the Negroes: It will not be disowned, that
 XVIII. they may be better fed, better clothed, less ill-
 treated, and less overburdened with toil, than in
 the islands. The laws protect them more effect-
 ually, and they seldom become the victims of
 the barbarity or caprice of an odious tyrant. But
 still, what must be the burden of a man's life who
 is condemned to languish in eternal slavery? Some
 humane sectaries, Christians who look for
 virtues in the gospel, more than for opinions,
 have often been desirous of restoring to their
 slaves that liberty for which they cannot receive
 any adequate compensation; but they have been
 a long time withholden by a law, which direct-
 ed that an assignment of a sufficiency for sub-
 sistence, should be made to those who were set
 at liberty.

Let us rather say, they have been prevented
 from doing this by the convenient custom of be-
 ing waited on by slaves; by the fondness they
 have for power, which they attempt to justify by
 pretending to alleviate their servitude; and by
 the opinion so readily entertained that the slaves
 do not complain of a state, which is by time
 changed into nature: these are the sophisms of
 self-love, calculated to appease the clamours of
 conscience. The generality of mankind are not
 born with evil dispositions, or prone to do ill by
 choice; but even among those whom nature
 seems to have formed just and good, there are
 but few who possess a soul sufficiently disin-
 terested, courageous, and great, to do any good
 action, if they must sacrifice some advantage
 for it.

But still the Quakers have lately set an example
 which ought to make an epocha in the history of
 religion and humanity. In one of their assem-
 blies,

blies, where every one of the faithful, who con-BOOK
 ceives himself moved by the impulse of the holy XVIII.
 spirit, has a right of speaking; one of the bre-
 thren, who was himself undoubtedly inspired on
 this occasion, arose and said: "How long then
 " shall we have two consciences, two measures,
 " two scales! one in our own favour, one for the
 " ruin of our neighbour, both equally false? Is it
 " for us, brethren, to complain at this moment,
 " that the parliament of England wishes to en-
 " slave us, and to impose upon us the yoke of
 " subjects, without leaving us the rights of ci-
 " tizens; while for this century past, we have
 " been calmly acting the part of tyrants, by
 " keeping in bonds of the hardest slavery men
 " who are our equals and our brethren? What
 " have those unhappy men done to us, whom
 " nature had separated from us by barriers so
 " formidable, whom our avarice has sought after
 " through storms and wrecks, and brought away
 " from the midst of their burning sands, or from
 " their dark forests inhabited by tygers? What
 " crime have they been guilty of, that they
 " should be torn from a country which led them
 " without toil, and that they should be trans-
 " planted by us to a land where they perish under
 " the labours of servitude? Father of Heaven,
 " what family hast Thou then created, in which
 " the elder born, after having seized on the pro-
 " perty of their brethren, are still resolved to
 " compel them, with stripes, to manure with the
 " blood of their veins and the sweat of their brow
 " that very inheritance of which they have been
 " robbed? Deplorable race, whom we render
 " brutes to tyrannize over them; in whom we
 " extinguish every power of the soul, to load
 " their limbs and their bodies with burdens;
 " in whom we efface the image of God, and the
 " stamp

BOOK
XVIII.

“stamp of manhood. A race mutilated and
 “dishonoured as to the faculties of mind and
 “body, throughout it’s existence, by us who are
 “Christians and Englishmen! Englishmen, ye
 “people favoured by Heaven, and respected on
 “the seas, would ye be free and tyrants at the
 “same instant? No, brethren! it is time we
 “should be consistent with ourselves. Let us set
 “free those miserable victims of our pride: Let
 “us restore the Negroes to that liberty, which
 “man should never take from man. May all
 “Christian societies be induced, by our example,
 “to repair an injustice authorized by the crimes
 “and plunders of two centuries! May men too
 “long degraded, at length raise to Heaven their
 “arms freed from chains, and their eyes bathed
 “in tears of gratitude! Alas! these unhappy
 “mortals have hitherto shed no tears but those
 “of despair!”

THIS discourse awakened remorse, and the
 ‘small number of slaves who belonged to the
 Quakers were set at liberty. If the setters of
 these unfortunate people were not broken by the
 other colonists of North America, yet Pennsyl-
 vania, New Jersey, and Virginia, warmly soli-
 cited that this infamous traffic of men should be
 prohibited. Every colony of this vast continent
 appeared disposed to follow this example: but
 they were prevented by an order from the mo-
 ther-country to it’s delegates, to reject every
 proposal tending to this humane project. This
 cruel prohibition would not have been surprising,
 if it had come from those countries which are as
 deep sunk in barbarism by the shackles of vice,
 as they have formerly been by those of ignorance.
 When a government, both sacerdotal and mili-
 tary, has brought every thing, even the opinions
 of men, under it’s yoke; when man, become an
 impostor,

impostor, has persuaded the armed multitude, that he holds from Heaven the right of oppressing the earth, there is no shadow of liberty left for civilized nations. Why should they not take their revenge on the people of the torrid zone? But I shall never comprehend by what fatality that legislation, which is the most happily planned of any that hath ever existed, hath been capable of preferring the interest of a few of it's merchants, to the dictates of nature, of reason, and of virtue.

THE population of North America consists of four hundred thousand Negroes, and of two millions five or six hundred thousand white people, if the calculations of congress be not exaggerated. The number of citizens doubles every fifteen or sixteen years, in some of those provinces, and every eighteen or twenty years in others. So rapid an increase must have two sources; the first is that a number of Irishmen, Jews, Frenchmen, Switzers, Palatines, Moravians, and Saltzburghers, after having been worn out with the political and religious troubles they had experienced in Europe, have gone in search of peace and quietness in these distant climates. The second source of that amazing increase arises from the climate itself of the colonies, where experience has shewn that the people naturally doubled their numbers every five-and-twenty years. The observations of Mr. Franklin will make these truths evident.

The numbers of the people, says that philosopher, increase every where in proportion to the number of marriages; and that number increases as the means of subsisting a family are rendered more easy. In a country where the means of subsistence abound, more people marry early. In a society, whose prosperity is a mark of it's antiquity,

children to each marriage in our climates, we BOOK XVIII. should allow, at least, eight in the New Hemisphere. If we multiply these families by their produce, it will appear that in less than two centuries, North America will arrive at an immense degree of population, unless it's natural progress should be impeded by obstacles which it is not possible to foresee.

It is now peopled with healthy and robust men, of a stature above the common size. These Creoles come to their full growth sooner, than the Europeans, but do not live so long. The inhabitants are supplied with great plenty of every thing requisite for food, by the low price of meat, fish, grain, game, fruits, cyder, and vegetables: Clothing is not so easily procured, that being still very dear, whether it be brought from Europe, or made in the country. Manners prevailing at present in North America. Manners are in the state they should be among young colonies, and people given to cultivation, who are not yet polished nor corrupted by residing in great cities: Throughout the families in general, there reigns œconomy, neatness, and regularity. Gallantry and gaming, the passions of indolent opulence, seldom interrupt that happy tranquillity. The female sex are still what they should be, gentle, modest, compassionate, and useful; they are in possession of those virtues which perpetuate the empire of their charms. The men are engaged in their first occupations, the care and improvement of their plantations, which will be the support of their posterity. One general sentiment of benevolence unites every family. Nothing contributes to this union so much as a certain equality of station, a security that arises from property, hope, and a general facility of increasing it; in a word, nothing contributes to it so much as the reciprocal independence in which all men

BOOK XVIII. men live, with respect to their wants, joined to the necessity of social connections for the purposes of their pleasures. Instead of luxury, which brings misery in it's train, instead of this afflicting and shocking contrast, an universal ease, wisely dealt out in the original distribution of the lands, has by the influence of industry given rise in every breast to the mutual desire of pleasing; a desire, without doubt, more satisfactory than the secret disposition to injure our brethren, which is inseparable from an extreme inequality of fortune and condition. Men never meet without satisfaction, when they are neither in that state of mutual distance which leads to indifference, nor in that way of rivalry which borders on hatred. They come nearer together and unite in societies; in short, it is in the colonies that men lead such a rural life as was the original destination of mankind, best suited to the health and increase of the species: probably they enjoy all the happiness consistent with the frailty of human nature. We do not, indeed, find there those graces, those talents, those refined enjoyments, the means and expence of which wear out and fatigue the springs of the soul, and bring on the vapours of melancholy which so naturally follow the disgust arising from sensual enjoyment; but there are the pleasures of domestic life, the mutual attachments of parents and children, and conjugal love, that passion so pure and so delicious to the soul that can taste it, and despise all other gratifications. This is the enchanting prospect exhibited throughout North America. It is in the wilds of Florida and Virginia, even in the forests of Canada, that men are enabled to continue to love during their whole life what was the object of their first affection, that innocence and virtue, which never entirely lose their beauty.

If there be any circumstance wanting to the happiness of British America, it is that of forming one entire nation. Families are there found sometimes re-united, sometimes dispersed, originating from all the different countries of Europe. These colonists, in whatever spot chance or discernment may have placed them, all preserve, with a prejudice not to be worn out, their mother-tongue, the partialities and the customs of their own country. Separate schools and churches hinder them from mixing with the hospitable people, who afforded them a place of refuge. Still more estranged from this people by worship, by manners, and probably by their feelings, they harbour seeds of dissention that may one day prove the ruin and total overthrow of the colonies. The only preservative against this disaster depends entirely on the conduct of the governments they belong to.

By governments must not be understood those strange constitutions of Europe, which are an absurd mixture of sacred and profane laws. English America was wise or happy enough not to admit any ecclesiastical power: being from the beginning inhabited by Presbyterians, she rejected with horror every thing that might revive the idea of it. All affairs which in the other parts of the globe are determined by the ecclesiastical courts, are here brought before the civil magistrate, or the national assemblies. The attempts made by the members of the English church to establish their hierarchy in that country, have ever been abortive, notwithstanding the support given them by the mother-country: but still they are equally concerned in the administration as well as those of other sects. None but Catholics have been excluded, on account of their refusing those oaths which the public tranquillity seemed to require.

Nature of
the go-
vernments
established
in North
America.

BOOK XVIII. In this view American government has deserved the greatest commendation ; but in other respects, it is not so well regulated.

POLICY, in it's aim and principal object, resembles the education of children. They both tend to form men, and should be in several respects similar to each other. Savage people, first united in society, require, as much as children, to be sometimes led on by gentle means, and sometimes restrained by compulsion. For want of experience, which alone forms our reason, as these savages are incapable of governing themselves in the several changes of things and the various concerns that belong to a rising society, the government that conducts them should itself be enlightened, and guide them by authority to years of maturity. Thus it is that barbarous nations are naturally subject to the oppressive yoke of despotic power, till in the advanced state of society their interests teach them to connect themselves.

CIVILIZED nations, like young men, more or less advanced, not in proportion to their abilities, but from the conduct of their early education, as soon as they become sensible of their own strength, and right, require to be managed and even attended to by their governors. A son well educated should engage in no undertaking without consulting his father : a prince, on the contrary, should make no regulations without consulting his people : further, the son, in resolutions where he follows the advice of his father, frequently hazards nothing but his own happiness ; in all that a prince ordains, the happiness of his people is concerned. The opinion of the public, in a nation that thinks and speaks, is the rule of the government : and the prince should never thwart that opinion without public reasons, nor oppose it

it without having first convinced the people of their error. Government is to model all its forms according to public opinion: this, it is well known, varies with manners, habits, and information. So that one prince may, without finding the least resistance, do an act of authority, not to be revived by his successor, without exciting the public indignation. From whence does this difference arise? The first cannot have thwarted an opinion that was not sprung up in his time, but the latter may have openly counteracted it a century after. The first, if I may be allowed the expression, may, without the knowledge of the public, have taken a step, the violence of which he may have softened or made amends for by the happy success of his government; the other shall, perhaps, have increased the public calamities by such unjust acts of wilful authority, as may perpetuate its first abuses. Public remonstrance is generally the result of opinion; and the general opinion is the rule of government: and because the public opinion governs mankind, kings, for this reason, become the rulers of men. Governments then, as well as opinions, ought to improve and advance to perfection. But what is the rule for opinions among an enlightened people? It is the permanent interest of society, the safety and advantage of the nation. This interest is modified by the turn of events and situations; public opinion and the form of the government follow these several modifications. This is the source of all the forms of government, established by the English, who are rational and free, throughout North America.

THE government of Nova-Scotia, of one of the provinces in New-England, New-York, New-Jersey, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, is styled royal; because the king of England is

B O O K there invested with the supreme authority. Re-
XVIII. presentatives of the people form a house of com-
 mons, as in the mother-country : a select council,
 approved by the king, intended to support the
 prerogatives of the crown, represents the house
 of peers, and maintains that representation by the
 fortune and rank of the most distinguished per-
 sons in the country, who are members of it. A
 governor convenes, prorogues, and dissolves their
 assemblies; gives or refuses assent to their deli-
 berations, which receive from his approbation the
 force of law, till the king, to whom they are
 transmitted, has rejected them.

THE second kind of government which takes
 place in the colonies, is known by the name of
 proprietary government. When the English first
 settled in those distant regions, a rapacious and
 active court-favourite easily obtained in those
 wastes, which were as large as kingdoms, a pro-
 perty and authority without bounds. A bow and
 a few skins, the only homage exacted by the
 crown, purchased for a man in power the right of
 sovereignty, or of governing at pleasure in an un-
 known country: such was the origin of govern-
 ment in the greater part of the colonies. At pre-
 sent, Maryland and Pennsylvania are the only
 provinces under this singular form of government,
 or rather this singular foundation of sovereignty.
 Maryland, indeed, differs from the rest of the
 provinces only by receiving its governor from
 the family of Baltimore, whose nomination is
 to be approved by the king. In Pennsylvania,
 the governor named by the proprietary family,
 and confirmed by the crown, is not supported by
 a council, which gives a kind of superiority, and
 he is obliged to agree with the commons, in
 whom is naturally vested all authority.

A THIRD form, styled by the English Charter BOOK
XVIII.
government, seems more calculated to produce harmony in the constitution. At present this subsists only in Connecticut and Rhode-Island; but it was formerly extended to all the provinces in New England. It may be considered as a mere democracy. The inhabitants of themselves elect and depose all their officers, and make whatever laws they think proper, without being obliged to have the assent of the king, or his having any right to annul them.

At length the conquest of Canada, joined to the acquisition of Florida, has given rise to a form of legislation hitherto unknown throughout the realm of Great Britain. Those provinces have been put or left under the yoke of military, and consequently absolute authority. Without any right to assemble in a national body, they receive immediately from the court of London every order of government.

THIS diversity of governments is not the work of the mother-country. We do not find in it the traces of a reasonable, uniform, and regular legislation. It is chance, climate, the prejudices of the times, and of the founders of the colonies, that have produced this motley variety of constitutions. It is not the province of men, who are cast by chance upon a desert coast, to constitute legislation.

As legislation, in its nature, should aim at the happiness of society. The means by which it is to attain this great end, depend entirely on its natural qualities. Climate, that is to say, the sky and the soil, are the first rule for the legislator. His resources dictate to him his duties. In the first instance, the local position should be consulted. A number of people thrown on a maritime coast, will have laws more or less relative to

BOOK
XVIII.

agriculture or navigation, in proportion to the influence the sea or land may have on the subsistence of the inhabitants who are to people that desert coast. If the new colony be led by the course of some large river far within land, a legislator ought to have regard to the quality of the soil, and the degree of it's fertility, as well as to the connections the colony will have either at home or abroad by the traffic of commodities most conducive to it's prosperity.

BUT the wisdom of legislation will chiefly appear in the distribution of property. It is a general rule, which obtains in all countries, that when a colony is founded, an extent of land be given to every person sufficient for the maintenance of a family; more should be given to those who have abilities to make the necessary advances towards improvement; and some should be reserved for posterity, or for additional settlers, with which the colony may in time be augmented.

THE first object of a rising colony is subsistence and population: the next is the prosperity likely to flow from these two sources. To avoid occasions of war, whether offensive or defensive; to turn industry towards those objects which are most advantageous; not to form connections around them, except such as are unavoidable, and may be proportioned to the stability which the colony acquires by the numbers of it's inhabitants, and the nature of it's resources; to introduce, above all things, a partial and local spirit in a nation which is going to be established, a spirit of union within, and of peace without; to refer every institution to a distant but fixed point; and to make every occasional law subservient to the settled regulation which alone is to effect an increase of numbers, and to give stability to the settle-

Settlement: these circumstances make no more than a sketch of a legislation. BOOK
XVIII.

THE moral system is to be formed on the nature of the climate; a large field for population is at first to be laid open by facilitating marriage, which depends upon the facility of procuring subsistence. Sanctity of manners should be established by opinion. In a barbarous island, which is to be stocked with children, no more would be necessary than to leave the principles of truth to unfold themselves with the natural progress of reason. By proper precautions against those idle fears which proceed from ignorance, the errors of superstition should be removed, till that period when the warmth of the natural passions, fortunately uniting with the rational powers, dissipates every phantom. But when people, already advanced in life, are to be established in a new country, the ability of legislation consists in removing every injurious opinion or habit which may be cured or corrected. - If we wish that these should not be transmitted to posterity, we should attend to the second generation, by instituting a general and public education of the children. A prince or legislator should never found a colony, without previously sending thither some proper persons for the education of youth; that is, some governors rather than teachers: for it is of less moment to teach them what is good, than to guard them from evil. Good education is ineffectual, when the people are already corrupted. The seeds of morality and virtue, sown in the infant state of a generation already vitiated, are annihilated in the early stages of manhood by debauchery, and the contagion of such vices as have already become habitual in society. The best educated young men cannot come into the world without making engagements, and forming connections, which
will

BOOK will wholly influence them during the remainder
XVIII of their lives. If they marry, follow any profes-
 sion, or pursuit, they find the seeds of evil and
 corruption rooted in every condition; a conduct
 entirely opposite to their principles; example and
 discourse which disconcerts and combats their best
 resolutions.

BUT in a rising colony, the influence of the first
 generation may be corrected by the manners of the
 succeeding one. The minds of all are prepared
 for virtue by labour. The necessities of life re-
 move all vices proceeding from want of employ-
 ment. The overflowing of it's population hath a
 natural tendency towards the mother-country,
 where luxury continually invites and seduces the
 rich and voluptuous planter. A legislator, who in-
 tends to refine the constitution and manners of
 a colony, will meet with every assistance he can
 require. If he be only possessed of abilities and
 virtue, the lands and the people he has to ma-
 nage, will suggest to his mind a plan of so-
 ciety, that a writer can only mark out in a vague
 manner, liable to all the uncertainty of hypo-
 theses that are varied and complicated by an infi-
 nity of circumstances too difficult to be foreseen
 and combined

BUT the chief basis of a society for cultivation
 or commerce, is property. It is the seed of good
 and evil, natural, or moral, consequent on the
 social state. Every nation seems to be divided in-
 to two irreconcilable parties. The rich and the
 poor, the men of property and the hirelings, that
 is to say, masters and slaves, form two classes of
 citizens, unfortunately, in opposition to one ano-
 ther. In vain have some modern authors wished
 by sophistry to establish a treaty of peace between
 these two states. The rich on all occasions are
 disposed to obtain a great deal from the poor at
 little

little expence; and the poor are ever inclined to set too high a value on their labour: while the rich man must always give the law in this too unequal bargain. Hence arises the system of counterpoise established in so many countries. The people have not wished to attack property which they considered as sacred, but they have made attempts to fetter it, and to check it's natural tendency to universal power. These counterpoises have almost always been ill-applied, as they were but a feeble remedy against the original evil in society. It is then to the repartition of lands that a legislator will turn his principal attention. The more wisely that distribution shall be managed, *the more simple, uniform, and exact* will be those laws of the country which chiefly conduce to the preservation of property.

THE English colonies partake, in this respect, of the radical vice inherent in the ancient constitution of the mother-country. As it's present government is but a reformation of that feudal system which had oppressed all Europe, it still retains many usages, which being originally nothing more than abuses of servitude, are still more sensibly felt by their contrast with the liberty which the people have recovered. It has, therefore, been found necessary to join the laws which left many rights to the nobility, to those which modify, lessen, abrogate, or soften the feudal rights. Hence so many laws of exception for one original law; so many of interpretation for one fundamental; so many new laws that are at variance with the old. Hence it is agreed, there is not in the whole world a code so diffuse, so perplexed, as that of the civil law of Great Britain. The wisest men of that enlightened nation have often exclaimed against this disorder. They have either not been heard, or the changes which have been pro-

BOOK produced by their remonstrances have only served
XVIII. to increase the confusion.

By their dependence, and their ignorance, the colonies have blindly adopted that deformed and ill-digested code, the burden of which oppressed their ancestors: they have added to that obscure heap of materials by every new law that the times, manners, and place could introduce. From this mixture has resulted a chaos the most difficult to put in order; a collection of contradictions that require much pains to reconcile. Immediately there sprang up a numerous body of lawyers, to prey upon the lands and inhabitants of those new settled climates. The fortune and influence they have acquired in a short time, have brought into subjection to their rapaciousness the valuable class of citizens employed in agriculture, commerce, in all the arts and labours most indispensably necessary for every society, but almost singularly essential to a rising community. To the severe evil of chicane, which has fixed itself on the branches, in order to seize on the fruit, has succeeded that of finance, which destroys the heart and the root of the tree.

The coin
 that has
 been cur-
 rent in the
 English
 colonies
 in North
 America

In the origin of the colonies, the coin bore the same value as in the mother-country. The scarcity of it soon occasioned a rise of one-third. That inconvenience was not remedied by the abundance of specie which came from the Spanish colonies; because it was necessary to transmit that into England in order to pay for the merchandise wanted from thence. This was a gulph that absorbed the circulation in the colonies. It was, however, necessary to establish a mode of exchange; and every province, except Virginia, sought for it in the creation of a paper currency.

The general government made at first but a moderate use of this expedient; but the disputes

with the savages increasing, as well as the wars BOOK
XVIII.
 against Canada, occasioned men of an enterprising spirit to form complicated and extensive projects; and the management of the public treasury was intrusted to rapacious or unskilful hands. This resource was then more freely employed than was proper. In vain were taxes levied at first, in order to pay the interest of the paper, and to take up the paper itself at a stipulated period. New debts were contracted to satisfy fresh wants, and engagements were generally carried beyond all excels. In Pennsylvania alone, the paper currency of the state preserved unremittingly its entire value. The credit of it was shaken in two or three other colonies, though it was not entirely lost. But in the two Carolinas, and in the four provinces which constitute what is commonly called New England, it fell into such discredit from the multiplicity of it, that it could no longer be circulated at any rate. Massachusetts's Bay, which had conquered Cape Breton from the French, received from the mother-country 4,050,000 livres * of indemnification. With this sum they paid off twelve times the value in their paper, and those who received the money thought they had made a very good bargain. The parliament, aware of this mischief, made some attempts to remedy it; but their measures were only very imperfectly successful. It would certainly have been a more effectual step, than any of those which had been invented by either a good or bad policy, to have broken the fetters with which the internal industry, and the external commerce, of so many great settlements were shackled.

THE first colonists who peopled North America Regulation is to which the
 applied themselves solely to agriculture. They

BOOK
XVIII

internal
industry
and the
external
trade of
North
America
had been
subjected.

soon perceived that their exports did not enable them to buy what they wanted, and they therefore found themselves in a manner compelled to set up some rude manufactures. The interests of the mother-country seemed to be affected by this innovation; which was made a matter of parliamentary inquiry, and discussed with all the attention it deserved. There were men bold enough to defend the cause of the colonists. They urged, that as the business of tillage did not employ men all the year, it was tyranny to oblige them to waste in idleness the time which the land did not require: that as the produce of agriculture and hunting did not furnish them to the extent of their wants, the preventing them from providing against them by a new species of industry, was in fact reducing them to the greatest distress: in a word, that the prohibition of manufactures only tended to enhance the price of all provisions in a rising state, to lessen, or, perhaps, stop the sale of them, and to deter such persons as might intend to settle in it.

THE evidence of these principles was not to be controverted: they were complied with after great debates. The Americans were permitted to manufacture their own clothes themselves, but with such restrictions as betrayed how much avarice regretted, what an appearance of justice could not but allow. All communication from one province to another on this account was severely prohibited. They were forbidden, under the heaviest penalties, to traffic with each other for wool of any sort, raw or manufactured. However, some manufacturers of hats ventured to break through these restrictions. To put a stop to what was termed a heinous disorderly practice, the parliament had recourse to the mean and cruel expedient of law. A workman was not at liberty

liberty to set up for himself till after seven years apprenticeship; a master was not allowed to have more than two apprentices at a time, nor to employ any slave in his work-shop. BOOK XVIII.

IRON mines, which seem to put into men's hands the instruments of their own independence, were laid under restrictions still more severe. It was not allowed to carry iron in bars, or rough pieces, any where but to the mother-country. Without being provided with crucibles to melt it, or machines to bend it, without hammers or anvils to fashion it, they had still less liberty of converting it into steel.

IMPORTATION was subjected to still further restraints. All foreign vessels, unless in evident distress or danger of wreck, or freighted with gold or silver, were not to come into any of the ports of North America. Even English vessels were not admitted there, unless they came immediately from some port of the country. The ships of the colonies going to Europe, were to bring back no merchandise but from the mother-country. Every thing was included in this proscription, except wine from the Madeiras, the Azores, and the Canaries, and salt for the fisheries.

ALL exportations were originally to terminate in England: but important reasons determined the government to relax and abate this extreme severity. The colonists were allowed to carry directly south of Cape Finisterre, grain, meal, rice, vegetables, fruit, salt fish, planks, and timber. All other productions were reserved for the mother-country. Even Ireland, which afforded an advantageous mart for corn, flax, and pipe-staves, has been shut against them by an act of parliament.

The parliament, which represents the nation, assumed the right of directing commerce in its whole

B O O K whole extent throughout the British dominions. It
XVIII. is by this authority it pretends to regulate the
 connections between the mother-country and the
 colonies, to maintain a communication, an advan-
 tageous reciprocal re-action between the scattered
 parts of an immense empire. There should, in
 fact, be one power to appeal to, in order to de-
 termine finally upon the concerns that may be
 useful or prejudicial to the general good of the
 whole society. The parliament is the only body
 that can assume such an important power. But it
 ought to employ it to the advantage of every
 member of society. This is an inviolable maxim,
 especially in a state where all the powers are form-
 ed and directed for the preservation of national
 liberty.

THAT principle of impartiality was unattended
 to, which alone can maintain an equal state of in-
 dependence among the several members of a free
 government; when the colonies were obliged to
 vent in the mother-country all their productions,
 even those which were not for their own con-
 sumption: when they were obliged to take from
 the mother-country all kinds of merchandise,
 even those which came from foreign nations.
 This imperious and useless restraint, loading the
 sales and purchases of the Americans with unne-
 cessary and ruinous charges, has necessarily less-
 ened their industry, and consequently diminished
 their profits; and it has been only for the purpose
 of enriching a few merchants, or some factors at
 home, that the rights and interests of the colonies
 have thus been sacrificed. All they owed to Eng-
 land for the protection they received from her,
 was only a preference in the sale and importation
 of all such of their commodities as she should
 consume; and a preference in the purchase and in
 the exportation of all such merchandise as came
 from

from her hands : so far all submission was a return BOOK
XVIII
of gratitude : beyond it all obligation was violence.

Thus it is that tyranny has given birth to contraband trade. Transgression is the first effect produced by unreasonable laws. In vain has it frequently been repeated to the colonies, that smuggling was contrary to the fundamental interest of their settlements, to all reason of government, and to the express intentions of law. In vain has it been continually laid down in public writings, that the subject who pays duty is oppressed by him who does not pay it ; and that the fraudulent merchant robs the fair trader by disappointing him of his lawful profit. In vain have precautions been multiplied for preventing such frauds, and fresh penalties inflicted for the punishment of them. The voice of interest, reason, and equity has prevailed over all the numberless clamours and various attempts of finance. Foreign importations smuggled into North America, amount to one-third of those which pay duty.

AN indefinite liberty, or merely restrained within proper limits, would have put a stop to the prohibited engagements of which so much complaint had been made. Then the colonies would have arrived to a state of affluence, which would have enabled them to discharge a load of debt due to the mother-country, amounting to one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and thirty millions of livres *. They would then have drawn from thence annually goods to the amount of forty-five millions of livres †, the sum to which their wants had been raised in the most successful periods. But instead of having their destiny alleviated, as they were incessantly demanding,

* From 5,000,000l. to 5,416,666l. 13s 4d.

† 1,875,000l.

BOOK it is the most ordinary of all political faults.
 XVIII From whence can arise this perpetual contradiction between the conviction and the conduct of government?

It arises from the fault of the legislative power, in exaggerating the means for maintaining the public strength, and in employing for it's own caprices part of the funds destined for this purpose. The wealth of the merchant and of the farmer, and the subsistence of the poor, taken from them in the country places and in the towns in the name of the State, and prostituted in the courts to the purposes of interest and vice, are employed to increase the pomp of a number of men, who flatter, detest, and corrupt their master; or pass into still baser hands than these, to pay for the scandal and shame of his pleasures. These treasures are lavished for a parade of grandeur, the vain decoration of those who can have no real grandeur; and for festivals, the resource of idleness, unable to exert itself, in the midst of the cares and labours which the government of an empire would require. A portion of them, it is true, is given to the public wants: but these, from incapacity or inattention, are applied without judgment as without œconomy. Authority deceived, and disdainng even to endeavour to be otherwise, admits of an unjust distribution of the tax, and of a mode of collecting it, which is itself an additional oppression. Then every patriotic sentiment becomes extinct. A war is excited between the prince and his subjects. Those who levy the revenues of the state, appear nothing but the enemies of the citizen. He defends his fortune from the impost, as he would defend it from incroachment. Every thing which cunning can take from power appears a lawful gain; and the subjects, corrupted by the government, make use of

of reprisals against a master who plunders them. They do not perceive that, in this unequal conflict, they are themselves both dupes and victims. The insatiable and eager treasury, less satisfied with what is given to them than irritated for what is refused, persecutes every individual delinquent by a variety of means. They join activity to interest, and vexations are multiplied. They go under the denomination of punishment and justice, and the monster, who reduces to poverty all those whom he prosecutes, returns thanks to Heaven for the number of culprits whom he punishes, and for the multiplicity of offences by which he enriches himself. Happy is the sovereign who, to prevent so many abuses, would not disdain to give his people an exact account of the manner in which all the sums he had required of them were employed. But this sovereign hath not yet appeared, nor indeed will he ever appear. Nevertheless, the debt due by the protected person to the State which protects him, is equally necessary and sacred, and has been acknowledged by all people. The English colonies of North America had not disavowed this obligation, and the British ministry had never applied to them without obtaining the assistance they solicited.

But these were gifts and not taxes, since the grant was preceded by free and public deliberations in the assemblies of each settlement. The mother country had been engaged in expensive and cruel wars. Tumultuous and enterprising parliaments had disturbed its tranquillity. It had had a set of bold and corrupt ministers, unfortunately inclined to raise the authority of the throne on the ruin of all the powers and all the rights of the people. Revolutions had succeeded each other, while the idea had never suggested

BOOK itself, of attacking a custom, confirmed by two
 XVIII. centuries of fortunate experience.

THE provinces of the New World were accustomed to consider as a right this mode of furnishing their contingent in men and money. Whether this claim had been doubtful or erroneous, prudence would have required that it should not have been too openly attacked. The art of maintaining authority is a delicate one, which requires more circumspection than is generally thought. Those who govern, are perhaps too much accustomed to despise men. They consider them as slaves, bowed down by nature, whereas they are only so by habit. If they be oppressed with a fresh weight, take care lest they should rise up again with fury. Let it not be forgotten, that the lever of power hath no other support but that of opinion; and that the strength of those who govern, is really nothing more than the strength of those who suffer themselves to be governed. Let not the people who are diverted by their employments, or who sleep in their chains, be instructed to pry into truths which are too formidable for government; and when they obey, let them not be made to recollect that they have the right to command. As soon as the instant of this terrible alarm shall arrive; as soon as they shall think that they are not made for their chiefs, but that their chiefs are made for them; as soon as they shall have been able to collect together, and to hear each other unanimously exclaim, *We will not have this law, the custom is displeasing to us*; there is then no alternative left, but either to submit or to punish, to be weak or to be tyrants; and from that time the authority of government, being detested or despised, whatever measures they may take, they will have nothing to expect from

from the people but open insolence or concealed hatred. BOOK
XVIII

THE first duty of a prudent administration is therefore to respect the prevailing opinions of a country; for opinions are the kind of property to which the people are more attached than even to that of their fortune. It may indeed endeavour to rectify them by knowledge, or alter them by persuasion, if they should be prejudicial to the strength of the state. But it is not allowable to contradict them without necessity; and there never was any to reject the system adopted by North America.

IN fact, whether the several countries of the New World were authorized, as they wished to do, to send representatives to parliament, in order to deliberate with their fellow-citizens on the exigences of the British empire; or whether they continued to examine within themselves what contribution it was convenient for them to grant; the treasury could not have experienced any embarrassment from either of these modes. In the first instance, the remonstrances of their deputies would have been lost in the multitude, and the provinces would have been legally charged with part of the burden intended for them to bear. In the second, the ministry disposing of the dignities of the employments, of the pensions, and even of the elections, would not have experienced more opposition to their will in the other hemisphere, than they do in this.

BUT the maxims which were holden sacred in America, had some other foundation beside prejudice. The people relied upon the nature of their charters; they relied still more firmly upon the right which every English citizen hath, not to be taxed without his consent, or that of his representatives. This right, which ought to belong

BOOK XVIII to all people, since it is founded on the eternal code of reason, was traced to it's origin as far back as the reign of Edward I. Since that period, the English never lost sight of it. In peace and in war, under the dominion of ferocious kings, as well as under that of weak monarchs, in times of slavery as in periods of anarchy, they never ceased to claim it. The English, under the Tudors, were seen to abandon their most valuable rights, and to deliver up their defenceless heads to the stroke of the tyrant, but they were never seen to renounce the right of taxing themselves. It was in defence of this right that they shed torrents of blood, that they dethroned or punished their kings. Finally, at the revolution of 1688, this right was solemnly acknowledged by the famous act, in which liberty, with the same hand that she was expelling a despotic king, was drawing the conditions of the contract between the nation and the new sovereign they had just chosen. This prerogative of the people, much more sacred undoubtedly than so many imaginary rights which superstition hath endeavoured to sanctify in tyrants, was at once in England the instrument and the bulwark of it's liberty. The nation thought and perceived that this was the only dike which could for ever put a stop to despotism; that the moment which deprives a people of this privilege condemns them to oppression, and that the funds, raised apparently for their safety, are employed sooner or later to ruin them. The English, when they founded their colonies, had carried these principles beyond the seas, and the same ideas were transmitted to their posterity.

ALAS! if in those countries even of Europe, where slavery seems for a long time to have taken up it's residence in the midst of vices, of riches, and

and of the arts; where the despotism of armies BOOK
 maintains the despotism of courts; where man, XVIII.
 fettered from his cradle, and bound by the two-
 fold bands of superstition and policy, hath never
 breathed the air of liberty; if, even in those coun-
 tries, persons who have reflected once in their
 lives on the destiny of States, cannot avoid the
 adopting of these maxims, and envying the for-
 tunate nation which hath contrived to make them
 the foundation and the basis of it's constitution;
 how much more must the English, the children
 of America, be attached to them; they who
 have received this intelligence from their ances-
 tors, and who know at what price they have pur-
 chased it? Even the soil they inhabit must keep
 up in them a sentiment favourable to these ideas.
 Dispersed over an immense continent, free as na-
 ture, which surrounds them, amidst the rocks;
 the mountains, the vast plains of their deserts,
 and on the skirts of those forests, where every
 thing is still wild, and where nothing calls to
 mind neither the servitude nor the tyranny of
 man, they seem to receive from natural objects
 lessons of liberty and independance. Besides,
 these people, who are almost all of them devoted
 to agriculture, to commerce and to useful la-
 bours, which elevate and strengthen the mind by
 giving simplicity to the manners, who have been
 hitherto as far removed from riches as from po-
 verty, cannot yet be corrupted either by an ex-
 cess of luxury or by a multiplicity of wants. It is
 this state more especially, that man who enjoys
 liberty can maintain it, and can shew himself
 jealous of defending an hereditary right which
 seems to be the sure guarantee of all the other
 rights. Such was the resolution of the Ameri-
 cans.

BOOK
XVIII

England
exacts
from her
colonies
what she
ought only
to have
asked of
them

WHETHER the British ministry were yet unacquainted with these dispositions, or whether they hoped that their delegates would succeed in altering them, they however embraced the opportunity of a glorious peace to exact a forced contribution from the colonies. For, let it be well observed, that a war, whether fortunate or unfortunate, serves always as a pretence to the usurpations of government, as if the views of the chiefs of the belligerent Powers were less to conquer their enemies than to enslave their subjects. The year 1764 gave birth to the famous stamp act, which forbade the admission into the tribunals of any claim which had not been written upon paper stamped and sold for the benefit of the treasury.

THE English provinces of the North of America were all incensed at this usurpation of their most valuable and most sacred rights. By unanimous consent they refused to consume what was furnished them by the mother country, till this illegal and oppressive bill was withdrawn. The women, whose weakness might have been feared, were the most eager in sacrificing what served for their ornament, and the men, animated by this example, gave up on their parts other enjoyments. Many cultivators quitted the plough, in order to accustom themselves to the work of manufactures, and the woollen, linen, and cotton, coarsely wrought, were bought up at the price that was previously given for the finest clothes and most beautiful stuffs.

THIS kind of combination surprised the government, and their anxiety was increased by the clamours of the merchants who found no market for their goods. These discontents were supported by the enemies of the ministry, and the stamp act was repealed after two years of a commotion, which

which in other times would have kindled a civil war. BOOK
XVIII.

BUT the triumph of the colonies was of short duration. The parliament, which had retracted only with extreme reluctance, ordained in 1767, that the revenue which they had not been able to obtain by means of the stamp, should be collected by the glass, the lead, the paste-board, the colours, the figured paper, and the tea, which were conveyed from England to America. The people of the northern continent were not less incensed with this innovation than with the former. In vain was it represented to them, that no one could contest with Great Britain the power of settling upon her exports such duties as were suitable to her interests; since she did not deprive her establishments beyond the seas of the liberty of manufacturing themselves the commodities which were subjected to the new taxes. This subterfuge appeared a mark of derision to men, who, being merely cultivators, and compelled to have no communication except with the mother-country, could neither procure for themselves by their own industry, nor by foreign connections, the articles that were taxed. Whether the tribute were paid in the Old or in the New World, they understood that the name made no alteration in the thing, and that their liberty would be no less attacked in this manner than it had been in the former, which had been repulsed with success. The colonists saw clearly that the government meant to deceive them, and they would not be imposed upon. These political sophisms appeared to them as they really are, the mask of tyranny.

NATIONS in general are more adapted to feel than to think. Most of them have never thought of analyzing the nature of the power which go-

BOOK XVIII. governs them. They obey without reflection, and because they are in the habit of obeying. The origin and object of the first national associations being unknown to them, every resistance to their will appears to them a crime. It is chiefly in those states where the principles of legislation are blended with those of religion, that this error was common. The habit of believing is favourable to the habit of suffering. Man doth not renounce with impunity one single object. It seems as if nature avenged herself of him who ventures thus to degrade her. This servile disposition of the soul extends to every thing; it makes a duty of resignation as of meanness, and respecting every chain that binds it, trembles to enter into an examination of the laws as well as of the tenets. In the same manner as one single extravagance in religious opinions, is sufficient to induce minds that are once deceived to adopt numberless others, so the first usurpation of government opens the door to all the rest. He who believes the most believes also the least, and he who can exert the most power can exert also the least. 'It is by this double abuse of credulity and of authority, that all the absurdities in matters of religion and politics have been introduced in the world to crush mankind.' Accordingly, the first signal of liberty among the nations hath excited them to shake off these two yokes at once, and the period in which the human mind began to discuss the abuses of the church and of the clergy, is that when reason became at length sensible of the rights of the people, and when courage endeavoured to fix the first limits to despotism. The principles of toleration and of liberty established in the English colonies, had made them a people very different from others. There it was known what the dignity of man was, and when it was violated by the
British

British ministry, it necessarily followed, that a BOOK people, composed entirely of citizens, should rise XVIII. against this attempt.

THREE years elapsed, and none of the taxes which had so much offended the Americans were yet levied. This was something, but it was not all that was expected from men jealous of their prerogatives. They wanted a general and formal renunciation of what had been illegally ordained, and this satisfaction was granted to them in 1770. The tea only was excepted. The intent indeed of this reserve, was merely to palliate the disgrace of giving up entirely the superiority of the mother-country over it's colonies, for this duty was not more exacted than the others had been.

The ministry, deceived by their delegates, cer- England tainly imagined that the dispositions of the people after hav- were altered in the New World, when in 1773 ing given they ordered the tax on the tea to be levied. way, wish- es to be ob- eyed by it's colo- nies.

At this news the indignation became general throughout North America. In some provinces, thanks were decreed to those navigators who had refused to take any of this article on board. In others, the merchants to whom it was addressed refused to receive it. In one place, whoever sold it was declared an enemy to his country. In another, the same mark of ignominy was bestowed upon those who should keep it in their warehouses. Several districts solemnly renounced the use of this liquor, and a greater number of them burnt all the tea they had remaining, which had hitherto been in such high estimation among them. The tea sent to this part of the globe was valued at five or six millions of livres *, and not a single chest of it was landed. Boston was the chief scene of this insurrection. It's inhabitants de-

* Price £ 2,35,1 at 2s. 6d. to 10,000

BOOK XVIII. destroyed in the harbour three cargoes of tea, which had arrived from Europe.

THIS great city had always appeared more attentive to their rights than the rest of America. The least attempt against their privileges was repulsed without discretion. This resistance sometimes accompanied with troubles, had for some years past disturbed the government. The ministry, who had some motives of revenge to gratify, too hastily seized upon the circumstance of his blameable excess, and demanded of the parliament a severe punishment.

MODERATE people wished that the guilty city should be condemned to furnish an indemnity proportioned to the damage done in it's harbour, and which it deserved for not having punished this act of violence. This penalty was judged too light, and on the 13th of March 1774, a bill was passed which shut up the port of Boston, and which forbade that any thing should be carried here.

THE court of London congratulated itself upon his rigorous law, and doubted not but that it would bring the Bostonians to that spirit of servitude with which it had been hitherto attempted in vain to inspire them. If contrary to every appearance, these bold men should persevere in their pretensions, their neighbours would eagerly avail themselves of the prohibition thrown upon the principal port of the colonies. At the worst, the other colonies which had been for a long time jealous of that of Massachusetts's Bay, would abandon it with indifference to it's melancholy fate, and would collect the immense trade which these misfortunes would cause to flow in upon them. In this manner the union of the several settlements, which, in the opinion of the mother-country,

try, had for some years past acquired too much confidence, would be broken. BOOK
XVIII.

THE expectations of the ministry were in general frustrated; an act of rigour sometimes strikes awe. The people who have murmured while the storm was only preparing at a distance, submit when it comes to fall upon them. It is, then, that they weigh the advantages and disadvantages of resistance, that they measure their strength with that of their oppressors; it is then that a panic terror seizes those which have every thing to lose and nothing to gain; that they raise their voices, that they intimidate, and that they bribe; that division is excited in the minds of men, and that society is divided between two factions which irritate each other, which sometimes take up arms and slay each other in the view of their tyrants, who behold with complacency and satisfaction the effusion of their blood. But tyrants scarcely find any accomplices unless among people already corrupt. It is vice which gives them confederates among those whom they oppress. It is effeminacy which takes the alarm, and cannot venture to exchange it's tranquillity for honourable dangers. It is the vile ambition of commanding which lends it's assistance to despotism, and consents to be a slave for the sake of acquiring dominion, to give up a people in order to divide their spoils, and to renounce the sense of honour in order to obtain honours and titles. It is especially that indifferent and cold personality, the last of the crimes of the people, the last of the vices of governments, for it is government which always gives rise to them; it is government which, from principle, sacrifices a nation to a man, and the happiness of a century and of posterity to the enjoyment of a day and of a moment. All these vices, which are the fruits of an opulent and voluptuous

BOOK
XVIII.

lupulous society, of a society grown old and come to it's last period, do not belong to recent people engaged in the toils of agriculture. The Americans remained united among themselves. The carrying into execution a bill which they called inhuman, barbarous, and destructive, served only to confirm them in the resolution of supporting their rights with more unanimity and steadiness.

The minds of men grew more and more exalted at Boston. The cry of liberty was reinforced by that of religion. The churches resounded with the most violent exhortations against England. It was undoubtedly an interesting spectacle for philosophy, to see that in the temples and at the feet of the altars, where superstition had so often blessed the change of the people, where the priests had so often flattered the tyrants, that liberty should raise it's voice to defend the privileges of an oppressed nation; and if we believe that the deity condescends to cast an eye upon the unfortunate contests of mankind, it preferred certainly to see it's sanctuary consecrated to this use, and to hear hymns to liberty become part of the worship, addressed to it by it's ministers. These discourses must have produced a great effect; and when a free people invokes the aid of heaven against oppression, they soon have recourse to arms.

THE other inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay disdained even the idea of taking the least advantage of the disasters of the capital. They thought of nothing but tightening the bands which connected them with the Bostonians, and were inclined to bury themselves under the ruins of their common country, rather than suffer the least incroachment upon rights which they had learned to cherish more than life.

ALL

ALL the provinces attached themselves to the cause of Boston, and their attachment increased in proportion to the calamities and sufferings of that unfortunate city. Being almost guilty of the same resistance which had been so severely punished, they were sensible that the vengeance of the mother-country against them was only delayed, and that all the grace which the most favoured of them can possibly expect, will be to be the last object of it's revenge. BOOK XVIII.

THESE dispositions to a general insurrection were increased by the act against Boston, which was circulated throughout the continent upon paper edged with black, as an emblem of the mourning of liberty. Anxiety soon communicates from one house to another. The citizens assemble, and converse, in the places. All the presses teem with writings full of eloquence and vigour.

"THE severities of the British parliament against Boston ought to make all the American provinces tremble. They have now only to choose between fire and the sword, between the horrors of death and the yoke of a servile and base obedience. The period of an important revolution is at length arrived, the fortunate or unfortunate success of which will forever determine the regret or admiration of posterity.

"SHALL we be free, or shall we be slaves? It is upon the solution of this great problem, that the destiny of three millions of men will depend for the present and for the future, the happiness or misery of their numberless descendants.

"ROUSE yourselves up, therefore, O you Americans! for the regions you inhabit were never covered with such dreadful clouds; you are
"called

BOOK XVIII. " called rebels, because you will be taxed only
 " by your representatives. Justify this claim by
 " your courage, or seal the loss of it with your
 " blood.

" It is no longer time to deliberate, when the
 " hand of the oppressor is incessantly at work in
 " forging chains for you ; silence would be a
 " crime, and inaction infamy. The preservation
 " of the rights of the republic, that is the su-
 " preme law. He would be the lowest of slaves,
 " who, in the danger which now threatens the
 " liberty of America, would not exert his utmost
 " efforts to preserve it."

SUCH was the general disposition ; but the most important object, and the most difficult matter to effect in the midst of the general tumult, was to bring about a calm, by means of which a harmony of inclinations might be produced, which might give dignity, strength, and consistence to the resolutions. It is this kind of harmony, which, from a number of loose and scattered parts, all of them easily broken, compose one complete whole, which it is impossible to subdue, unless one can succeed in dividing it either by strength or by policy. The necessity of this great union was perceived by the provinces of New Hampshire, of Massachusetts Bay, of Rhode Island, of Connecticut, of New-York, of New-Jersey, of the three counties of the Delaware, of Pennsylvania, of Maryland, of Virginia, and of the two Carolinas. These twelve colonies, to which Georgia hath since acceded, sent deputies to Philadelphia in the month of September 1774, who were appointed to defend their rights and their interests.

THE disputes between the mother-country and its colonies acquired at this period a degree of importance which they had not had before. It

was no more a few individuals who opposed a B O O K
 stubborn resistance to imperious masters. It was XVIII.
 the struggle between one body of men and another, between the congress of America and the parliament of England, between one nation and another. The resolutions taken on each side inflamed the minds of men still more and more, and increased the animosity. Every hope of reconciliation was dissipated. The sword was drawn on both sides; Great Britain sent troops into the New World, and this other hemisphere prepared for its defence. Its citizens became soldiers. The materials for the conflagration are collected, and the fire will soon break out.

GENERAL GAGE, who commanded the royal troops, sent a detachment from Boston on the night of the 18th of August 1775, with orders to destroy a magazine of arms and provisions collected by the Americans at Concord. This detachment met with some militia at Lexington, whom they dispersed without much difficulty, continued their march with rapidity, and executed the orders they had received. But they had scarcely resumed the road to the capital, before they were assailed in a space of fifteen miles by a furious multitude whom they destroyed, and by whom they were also slain. The blood of Englishmen, so often spilt in England by the hands of Englishmen, was now spilt in America, and the civil war was begun.

MORE regular engagements were fought upon the same field of battle in the ensuing months. Warren was the victim of these destructive and unnatural actions. The congress did honour to his remains.

“ He is not dead, said the orator; this excellent citizen shall not die. His memory will be eternally present, eternally dear to all good
 “ men,

BOOK
XVIII.

“men, to all lovers of their country. He hath
“displayed, in the limited career of a life of thirty-three years, the talents of a statesman, the
“virtues of a senator, and the soul of a hero.

“ALL you who are animated with the same
“interest, approach the bloody corpse of Warren.
“Bathe his honourable wounds with your tears;
“but do not remain too long over this inanimate
“body. Return to your habitations, to inspire a
“detestation of the crime of tyranny. Let the
“hair of your children start upon their heads at
“this horrible representation, let their eyes sparkle, let their brows become threatening, and
“let their voices express their indignation; then
“you will give them arms, and your last wish
“will be, that they may either return conquerors,
“or perish like Warren.”

THE troubles with which Massachusetts's Bay was agitated, were extended to the other provinces. The transactions were not indeed bloody in them, because there were no British troops; but in all parts the Americans seized upon the forts, the arms, and the provisions; they expelled their chiefs and the other agents of government, and ill-treated the inhabitants who appeared to favour the cause of the mother-country. Some enterprising men carried their boldness so far as to seize upon the works formerly erected by the French near Lake Champlain, between New-England and Canada, and even made an irruption into that vast region.

WHILE private individuals, or separate districts, were so usefully serving the common cause, the congress was employed in the care of assembling an army, the command of which was given to George Washington, a native of Virginia, and known by a few successful actions in the preceding wars. The new general immediately flew

to Massachusetts's Bay, drove the royal troops from one post to another, and compelled them to shut themselves up in Boston. Six thousand of his old soldiers, who had escaped the sword, sickness, and every other kind of distress, pressed either by hunger or by the enemy, embarked on the 24th of March 1776, with a precipitation which had all the appearance of flight. They went to seek an asylum in Nova Scotia, which, as well as Florida, had remained faithful to it's former masters.

THIS success was the first step of English America towards the revolution. It began to be openly wished for, and the principles which justified it were universally diffused. These principles, which originated in Europe, and particularly in England, had been transplanted by philosophy into America. The knowledge of the mother-country was turned against itself, and it was said : .

The colonies had a right to separate themselves from their mother-country, even if they had had no cause of discontent.

ONE must be very careful not to confound societies and government with each other. Let us investigate their origin in order to distinguish them.

MAN, thrown upon the globe as it were by chance, surrounded with all the evils of nature, obliged to defend and protect his life against the storms and hurricanes of the air, against the inundations of the waters, against the fires and the conflagrations of volcanos, against the intemperature of the zones, either torrid or frozen, against the barrenness of the earth, which refuses to yield him any subsistence, or against it's unfortunate fertility, which produces poisons under his feet, against the teeth of ferocious animals, who dispute with him his abode and his prey, and, by combating him themselves, seem to intend to acquire the dominion of the globe, of which he thinks himself the master : man, in this state alone, and abandoned to himself, could do

B O O K nothing for his own preservation. It was there-
XVIII fore necessary, that he should unite and 'associate
 with his fellow-creatures, in order to make a
 common stock of their strength and understand-
 ing. It is by this union that he hath been able
 to triumph over so many evils, that he hath fash-
 ioned the globe to his own use, kept the rivers
 within their boundaries, subdued the seas, insured
 his subsistence, conquered one part of the ani-
 mals by compelling them to serve him, and driven
 away the rest to a distance from his empire, in the
 midst of deserts or of forests, where their numbers
 diminish from one century to another. Men,
 united among themselves, have carried into exe-
 cution what one man alone could never have ac-
 complished, and they all together concur in pre-
 serving their work. Such is the origin, such are
 the advantages and the end of society.

GOVERNMENT OWES it's rise to the necessity of
 preventing, and of repelling, the injuries which
 the associates had to fear from each other. It is
 the centinel who watches to prevent the common
 labours from being disturbed.

SOCIETY hath therefore arisen from the neces-
 sities of mankind, and government owes it's ori-
 gin to their vices. Society always tends to good;
 government ought always to tend towards repres-
 sing evil. Society is the first, and in it's origin
 independent and free; government hath been in-
 stituted for it and is only it's instrument. The
 former has the right of commanding, the latter
 must obey. Society hath created public strength,
 and government, which hath received it from it's
 hands, ought to consecrate it entirely to it's use.
 In a word, society is essentially good; govern-
 ment, as it is well known, may be, and is but
 too often bad.

It hath been said, that we were all born equals; BOOK XVIII.
 but that is not true. That we had all the same rights. I do not know what rights are, where there is an inequality of talents and of strength, and no guarantee nor sanction. That Nature hath offered to us all the same habitation and the same resources; that is not true. That we are indiscriminately endowed with the same means of defence; that is not true: nor do I know in what sense it can be true, that we enjoy the same qualities of body and of mind.

THERE is an original inequality between men which nothing can remedy. It must last for ever; and all that can be obtained from the best legislation will not be to destroy it, but to prevent its abuses.

BUT hath not Nature herself produced the seeds of tyranny, by dealing with her children like a stepmother, and by creating some children weak, and others strong? It is scarce possible to deny this, especially if we go back to a period previous to all legislation, when we shall see men as passionate and as unreasonable as brutes.

WHAT views then can the founders of nations, and the legislators, have had? To obviate all the disasters of this detested principle, by a kind of artificial equality, which should subject the members of a society, without exception, to one single impartial authority. It is a sword which is indiscriminately suspended over every head; but this sword was only ideal. It was necessary that some hand, some natural being, should hold it.

THE result of this hath been, that the history of civilized man is nothing more than the history of his misery. All the pages of it are stained with blood, some with that of the oppressors, the rest with that of the oppressed.

BOOK XVIII In this point of view, man appears more wicked, and more unfortunate than animals. The different species of animals subsist at the expense of each other; but the societies of men have never ceased to attack each other. There is no condition in the same society, which doth not either devour, or hath not itself devoured, whatever may have been, or whatever may be the form of government, or of artificial equality, which hath been opposed to the primitive or natural inequality.

BUT these forms of government, freely chosen by our forefathers, whatever sanction they may have received, either from oath, or from unanimous consent, or from permanency, are they to be considered as binding to their descendants? Certainly not: and it is impossible that you, Englishmen, who have successively undergone so many different revolutions in your political constitution; who have been driven from monarchy to tyranny, from tyranny to aristocracy, from aristocracy to democracy, and from democracy to anarchy, it is impossible, I say, that you can think differently from me, without accusing yourselves of rebellion and perjury.

WE examine things as philosophers; and it is well known that our speculations have not occasioned civil wars. No subjects are more patient than we are. I shall therefore pursue my object, without any apprehension for the consequences. If people be happy under their form of government, they will maintain it. If they be wretched, it will be neither your opinion nor mine, but the impossibility of suffering any more, or for any longer time, which will determine them to change. A salutary commotion, which the oppressor will call revolt, though it be not more than the legal exercise of an unalienable and natural

natural right of the man who is oppressed, and even of him who is not oppressed.

BOOK
XVIII.

MAN has a will, and a choice of his own; but he can neither have a will nor a choice for another; and it would be an extravagance to exercise his will and his choice for him who is not yet born, for him who will not exist for many centuries after. There is no individual who hath not a right to seek elsewhere a better form of government, if he be dissatisfied with that of his own country. There is no society which hath not the same liberty of altering it's own form of government, as it's ancestors had to adopt it. Upon this point, societies are in the same state as in the first instant of their civilization. It would be a great evil, if it were not so; and indeed in that case, there could be no remedy against the greatest of all evils. Millions of men must have been condemned to endless misfortune. It will therefore be admitted in conformity to my principles :

THAT there is no form of government, the prerogative of which is to be immutable.

THAT there is no political authority, created either yesterday or a thousand years ago, which cannot be abrogated, either ten years hence, or to-morrow.

WHOEVER thinks otherwise is a slave; he is the idolater of the works of his own hands.

WHOEVER thinks otherwise is a madman, who devotes himself, as well as his family, his children, and his children's children, to everlasting misery, by granting to his ancestors the right of stipulating for him when he was not in being, and by arrogating to himself the right of stipulating for his descendants, who are not yet in being.

ALL

BOOK

XVIII.

ALL authority in this world hath begun either by the consent of the subjects, or by the strength of the master. It may be legally put a stop to in either of the cases. There is nothing which favours tyranny against liberty.

THE truth of these principles is the more essential, as every power tends, by it's nature to despotism, even in that nation which is the most jealous of it's rights, even in England.

I HAVE heard a Whig say, that as long as a bad sovereign, or at least a bad minister, could not be sent to Tyburn with as little formality, parade, tumult, and surprise, as the most obscure malefactor, the nation would never either have a proper idea, nor the full enjoyment of it's rights, in a manner suitable to a people who venture to think, and to call themselves a free people. This man was perhaps a fanatic; but madmen sometimes utter words of profound sense. Nevertheless, an administration which you yourselves own to be ignorant, corrupt, and audacious, shall imperiously precipitate you with impunity into the deepest abyss of misfortune.

THE quantity of specie circulating among you is not very considerable. You are overburdened with paper-currency, under every denomination. All the gold of Europe, heaped up in your treasury, would be scarce sufficient to pay off your national debt. It is not known by what kind of incredible illusion this fictitious coin is kept up. The most trifling event may in a moment bring it into discredit. One single alarm is sufficient to induce a sudden bankruptcy. The dreadful consequences of this breach of faith are beyond our imagination. And this is the moment which hath been chosen to make you declare against your colonies; that is to say, to involve yourselves in an unjust, senseless, and ruinous war. What will become of you, when

when one important branch of your commerce shall be annihilated; when you shall have lost one third of your possessions; when you shall have massacred one or two millions of your fellow-citizens; when your strength shall be exhausted, your merchants ruined, your manufacturers reduced to perish for want; when your debt shall be increased, and your revenue diminished? Beware! the blood of the Americans will sooner or later fall upon your own heads. Its effusion will be revenged by your own hands; and the moment is at hand.

But, you say, they are rebels. - - - Why are they so? Because they will not be your slaves? A people who are subject to the will of another, who can dispose at pleasure of their government; of their laws, and of their commerce, who can tax them according to their own fancy, limit their industry, and fetter it by arbitrary prohibitions, are slaves, and their servitude is worse than that which they would experience under a tyrant; because a tyrant may be got rid of, either by expulsion or by assassination. Both these acts have been done by you. But a nation can neither be put to death nor expelled. Liberty can be expected only from a rupture, the consequence of which must be the ruin of one or the other of the nations; and sometimes of both. A tyrant is a monster with only one head, which may be stricken off at a blow. A despotic nation is a hydra with a thousand heads, which can only be smitten off by a thousand swords at once. The crime of the oppression exercised by a tyrant, excites universal indignation against himself alone. The same crime, committed by a numerous society, spreads the horror and the shame of it amongst a multitude, which is never ashamed. It is the crime of every body, and of no body; and

B O O K and the sentiment of misguided despair knows not
 XVIII. upon what object to fix it's resentment.

But they are our subjects. - - - Your subjects! not more, than the inhabitants of the province of Wales are the subjects of the county of Lancaster. The authority of one nation over another can only be founded upon conquest, upon general consent, or upon proposed and accepted conditions. Conquest is no more binding than robbery. The consent of ancestors cannot compel descendants; and no conditions can be consistent with the sacrifice of liberty. Liberty cannot be bartered for any thing, because no equivalent can be given for it. This is the speech you have made to your tyrants, and we now address it to you in favour of your colonists.

The land which they occupy is our's. - - - Your's! It is thus you call it, because you have invaded it. But supposing it be so, doth not the charter of concession oblige you to treat the Americans as your countrymen? and do you comply with this obligation? But to what purpose are concessions and charters, which grant what one is not master of, and which, consequently, one hath no right of granting, to a small number of feeble men, compelled by circumstances to receive as a gratuity what they have a natural right to. Besides, have the descendants, who are now alive, been invited to accede to a compact, signed by their ancestors? The truth of this principle must be acknowledged, or the descendants of James must be recalled. What right was there to drive him away, which we had not equally to separate from you? say the Americans. And what answer can be made to them?

They are ungrateful; we are their founders; we have been their defenders; we have indebted ourselves for them. - - - For yourselves, you may say, as much,

much, or more than-for them. If you have de-
fended them, it is in the same manner as you
would have defended the Sultan of Constanti-
nople, if your ambition or your interest had re-
quired it. But have they not repaid this obliga-
tion, by delivering to you their productions, by
exclusively receiving your merchandise, at the
exorbitant price you have chosen to put upon
it; by submitting to the prohibitions, which
thwarted their industry, and to the restrictions
with which you have oppressed their property?
Have they not assisted you, and indebted them-
selves for you? Have they not taken up arms,
and fought for you? Have they not acceded to
your demands, when you have made them in a
manner suitable to freemen? When have they
ever refused you any thing, unless when present-
ing your bayonets to their breasts, you have said
to them, *Your treasure, or your life; die, or be our
slaves.* What! because you have been benefi-
cent, have you the right to become oppressors!
Will the nations, also, convert their expectations
of gratitude into a barbarous pretence to disgrace
and insult those who have had the misfortune
to receive their benefits? Individuals, perhaps,
though it be not their duty, may in their bene-
factors bear with their tyrants. In them, un-
doubtedly, it is great, it is magnanimous, to
consent to be unhappy, rather than be ungrate-
ful. But the system of morality among nations
is different. The public felicity is the first law,
as it is the first duty. The primary obligation
of these great bodies is towards themselves.
They owe, above all things, liberty and justice
to those who compose them. Every child who is
born in a state, every citizen who comes to breathe
the air of a country which he hath chosen for
himself, or which nature hath given him, has a
right

BOOK XVIII. right to the greatest degree of happiness he can possibly enjoy. Every obligation which cannot be reconciled with that principle is void. Every contrary claim is an incroachment upon his rights. Of what concern is it to him, if his ancestors have been favoured, when he himself is destined to be the victim? By what right can we exact the payment of this usurious debt of benefits, which he hath not even experienced? No. To arrogate to one's self a similar claim, against a whole nation and it's posterity, is to subvert all the ideas of order and policy; it is to betray all the laws of morality, while we invoke their countenance. What hath not England done for Hanover! But is Hanover subject to your command? All the republics of Greece were connected with each other by mutual services: Did any one of them exact, as a token of gratitude, the right of disposing of the administration of the republic that had received the obligation?

But our honour is compromised. - - - Say rather, the honour of your bad ministers, and not your own. In what consists the real honour of him who is in an error? Is it to persist in it, or to acknowledge it? The man who returns to sentiments of justice hath no occasion to be ashamed. Englishmen, you have been too precipitate. Why did you not wait till riches had corrupted the Americans, as you are corrupted? Then they would have been as little concerned for their liberty, as you for your's. Then, subdued by wealth, your arms would have been useless. But you have attacked them in an instant, when what they had to lose, liberty, could not be balanced by what they had to preserve.

But in later times they would have become still more numerous. - - - I acknowledge it. You have therefore only attempted the enslaving of a people, whom

whom time would have set free in spite of you. BOOK XVIII.
 In twenty or thirty years, the remembrance of your atrocious deeds will be recent; and the fruit of them will be taken away from you: then, nothing but shame and remorse will remain to you. There is a decree of nature which you cannot change; it is, that great bodies always give law to smaller ones. But if the Americans should then undertake against Great Britain what you have undertaken against them; would you not say to them exactly what they say to you at this instant. Wherefore should motives which affect you but little, coming from them, appear more solid when coming from you?

They will neither obey our parliament, nor adopt our constitution. - - - Have they made, or can they change them?

We obey them without having had, either in past times, or without having at present, any influence over them. - - - That is to say, that you are slaves, and that you cannot suffer freemen. Nevertheless, do not confound the position of the Americans with your's. You have representatives, and they have none; you have voices which speak for you; and no one stipulates for them. If the voices be bought and sold, this is an excellent reason for them to disclaim this advantage.

They would be independent of us. - - - Are not you so of them?

They will never be able to support themselves without us. - - - If that be the case, keep quiet; necessity will bring them back to you.

But what if we could not subsist without them? - - - This would be a great misfortune: but to cut their throats, in order to prevent it, is a singular expedient.

It is for their interest, it is for their good, that we are angry with them, as we are with children who behave

BOOK *behaves improperly.* - - - Their intèrest and their
 XVIII. good! Who hath appointed, you the judges of these two points which touch them so nearly, and which they ought to know better than you? If it should happen that a citizen should enter by force into the house of another, upon a pretence that he was a man of great understanding, and that no one was more capable of maintaining good order and peace at his neighbour's house; would not his neighbour have a right to desire him to withdraw, and concern himself about his own affairs? But what shall we say if the affairs of this officious hypocrite were much in disorder. If he were nothing more than an ambitious man, who under pretence of governing wanted to usurp; if under the mask of benevolence he concealed only views full of injustice, such for instance, as the endeavour to relieve his own difficulties at the expence of his fellow-citizens?

We are the mother-country.—What, are the most sacred names always to serve as veils to ambition and to interest? If you be the mother-country fulfil the duties of it. Moreover, the colony is formed of different nations, among whom some will grant and others will refuse you this title. While all of them will say to you at once; there is a time when the authority of parents over their children is to cease, and this time is that when children can provide for themselves. What term have you fixed for our emancipation? Be honest, and confess you flattered yourselves that you should have kept us under perpetual tutelage. This tutelage however might be supportable, if it were not changed for us into an unbearable constraint; if our advantage were not incessantly sacrificed to your's; if we were not obliged to suffer a multitude of oppressions in detail from the governors, the judges, the financiers, and
 the

the military men whom you send to us; if most of them at their arrival in our climates did not bring with them degraded characters, ruined fortunes, rapacious hands, and the insolence of subaltern tyrants, who, tired with obeying the laws in their own country, come to indemnify themselves in a New World, by exercising there a power which is too frequently arbitrary. You are the mother-country, but far from encouraging our progress you stand in awe of it. You confine our industry and you counteract our rising strength. Nature, in favouring us, disappoints your secret wishes; or rather, it is your desire that she should remain in a state of eternal infancy, with respect to every thing that may be useful to us; and notwithstanding this, that we should still be robust slaves to serve you, and incessantly to supply your avidity with new sources of wealth. Is this being a mother? Is this being our country? Alas! in the forests that surround us, Nature hath bestowed a milder instinct on the wild beast, who, when she is become a mother, doth not at least devour those to whom she hath given birth.

If we agreed to all their pretensions they would soon be happier than we are.—And why not? If you be corrupted why should they be so? If you incline to slavery, must they also imitate your example? If you were their master, why should you not confer the property of another power to your sovereign? Why should you not make him your despot, as you have declared him by a solemn act the despot of Canada? Must they then have ratified this extravagant concession? and if they had ratified it, must they have obeyed the sovereign you would have given them? and must they have taken up arms against you in obedience to his orders? The king of England hath a negative

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power.

B O O K have your ancestors admired the Dutch shaking off
 XVIII. the Spanish yoke; and shall you be astonished that
 your descendants, your countrymen, your brethren, those who felt your blood circulating in their veins, should rather choose to spill it than submit to the yoke, and should prefer death to a life of slavery? A stranger, over whom you would assume the same pretensions, would have disarmed you; if laying bare his breast he had said; *Bury your dagger here, or leave me free.* And yet you murder your brother, and you murder him without remorse, because he is your brother! Englishmen! what can be more ignominious than the ferociousness of a man proud of his liberty, and incroaching upon that of another? Must we be taught to believe, that the greatest enemy of liberty is the man who enjoys it? Alas! we are but too much disposed to believe it. Enemies to kings, you have all their haughtiness. Enemies to the royal prerogative, you display it in all parts. You shew yourselves tyrants every where. Tyrants of nations and of your colonies; if you should prevail in this contest, it is because heaven will have been inattentive to the vows that are addressed to it from all regions of the earth.

SINCE the seas have not swallowed up your proud satellites, tell me what will become of them, if there should arise in the New World an eloquent man, who should promise eternal salvation to those who should perish sword in hand, the martyrs of liberty. Americans, let your priests be incessantly seen in your pulpits, with crowns in their hands, and shewing you the heavens opened. Priests of the New World, it is time to expiate the ancient fanaticism, which hath desolated and ravaged America, by a fanaticism more fortunate; the offspring of politics and of liberty.

But

But you will not deceive your fellow-citizens. BOOK XVIII.
 God who is the first principle of justice and of order abhors tyrants. God hath imprinted in the heart of man the sacred love of liberty, and will not suffer that servitude should degrade and disfigure the most beautiful of his works. If apothecosis be due to man, it is certainly to him who fights and dies for his country. Place his image in your churches, and put it near your altars. It will be the worship of the country. Compose a political and religious calendar, in which every day shall be marked with the name of some one of those heroes who shall have spilt his blood to make you free. Your posterity will read them one day with a holy respect; they will say, these are the names of those who have set half the world at liberty, and who, exerting themselves for our happiness before we existed, have prevented that at our birth we should hear the rattling of chains over our cradles.

When the cause of the colonies was debated in the national assemblies, we have heard many excellent pleadings pronounced in their favour. But perhaps the following would have been the most proper to address to them :

“ I WILL say nothing to you, Gentlemen, of the justice or injustice of your pretensions. I am not so much a stranger to public affairs, to be ignorant that this preliminary examination, which is sacred in all other circumstances of life, would be improper and ridiculous in this. I will not enter into what expectations you may have of success, nor will I examine whether you will prevail in this cause, although this subject might appear of some importance to you, and might probably engage your attention. Nor will I even compare the advantages of your situation if you should succeed, with the consequences.”

Vol. VI. N “ sequences

BOOK XVIII. power. No law can be enacted there without his consent. This power, the inconvenience of which you daily experience, why should the Americans grant it to him among themselves? Would it be to deprive him of it one day by taking up arms, as it will happen to you if your government should be improved? What advantage can you find in subjecting them to a vicious constitution?

Vicious or not, this constitution is our's, and it must be generally acknowledged and accepted by all who bear the English name; otherwise, each of our provinces governing itself in it's own way, having it's own laws, and pretending to independence, we should cease to form a national body, and should be nothing more than a collection of small insulated republics divided, incessantly at war with each other, and easily invaded by a common enemy. The sagacious and powerful Philip, capable of undertaking this enterprise, is near us.

SUPPOSING him to be near you, he is at a distance from the Americans. A privilege which may be attended with some inconvenience to you, is not the less a privilege. But, separated as they are from Great Britain, by immense seas, of what concern is it to you whether your colonies accept or reject your constitutions? What has this to do either for or against your strength, or for or against your security? That unity, of which you exaggerate the advantages, is also nothing more than a vain pretence. You urge your laws to them when they are oppressed by them, and you trample upon them yourselves when they appeal to them in their favour. You tax yourselves, and you want to tax them. When the least incroachment is attempted upon this privilege, you exclaim with rage, you take up arms, and you are ready to devote yourselves to death, and yet you

you put the poniard to the throat of your fellow BOOK
XVIII.
citizen to compel him to renounce it. Your ports are open to all nations, and you shut up those of the colonists from them. Your merchandise is conveyed to all parts where you choose to send it, and their's is forced to be sent to you. You manufacture, and you will not suffer them to do the same. They have hides and they have iron, and you compel them to deliver these hides and this iron to you in the rough state. What you get at a low price, they must purchase from you at the price which your rapaciousness exacted. You sacrifice them to your merchants; and because your East India Company was in danger, it was necessary that their losses should be repaired by the Americans. And yet you call them your fellow-citizens, and it is thus you invite them to accept your constitution. This unity, this league, which seems so necessary to you, is nothing more than the league of the foolish animals in the fable, among which you have reserved to yourself the part of the lion.

PERHAPS you have only suffered yourselves to be induced to fill the New World with blood and ravages, merely from a false point of honour. We like to persuade ourselves, that so many enormities have not been the consequence of a project coolly concerted. You have been told, that the Americans were nothing more than a base herd of cowards, whom the least threat would induce with fear and consternation to comply with every thing you chose to exact. Instead of those pusillanimous men, who had been described to you, and whom you had been taught to expect, you met with brave people, true Englishmen, and fellow-citizens worthy of you. Was this a reason for increasing your anger? What! have

BOOK XVIII. have your ancestors admired the Dutch shaking off the Spanish yoke; and shall you be astonished that your descendants, your countrymen, your brethren, those who felt your blood circulating in their veins, should rather choose to spill it than submit to the yoke, and should prefer death to a life of slavery? A stranger, over whom you would assume the same pretensions, would have disarmed you; if laying bare his breast he had said, *Bury your dagger here, or leave me free.* And yet you murder your brother, and you murder him without remorse, because he is your brother! Englishmen! what can be more ignominious than the ferociousness of a man proud of his liberty, and incroaching upon that of another? Must we be taught to believe, that the greatest enemy of liberty is the man who enjoys it? Alas! we are but too much disposed to believe it. Enemies to kings, you have all their haughtiness. Enemies to the royal prerogative, you display it in all parts. You shew yourselves tyrants every where. Tyrants of nations and of your colonies; if you should prevail in this contest, it is because heaven will have been inattentive to the vows that are addressed to it from all regions of the earth.

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What measures would it have suited England to adopt, when she saw the ferment raised in her colonies.

Vol. VI. N “ sequences

BOOK XVIII. " sequences that will follow if you should fail.
 " But I will suppose at once, that you have re-
 " duced the colonies to the degree of servitude
 " which you require. I only wish to be informed
 " how you will maintain them in it. Will it be
 " by a standing army? But this army, which
 " will exhaust you of men and money, will it
 " follow or not the increase of population? There
 " are but two answers to be made to this question,
 " and of these two answers one seems to me to be
 " absurd, and the other brings you back to the
 " situation in which you now are. I have re-
 " flected much upon the matter, and if I mistake
 " not, I have discovered the only reasonable
 " and sure measure you have to pursue. This
 " is, as soon as you shall have made yourselves
 " masters of them, to stop the progress of popula-
 " tion, since it appears to you more advanta-
 " geous, more honourable, and more proper to
 " rule over a small number of slaves, than to
 " have a nation of freemen for your equals and
 " friends.
 " But you will ask me how is the progress of
 " population to be stopped? The expedient
 " might perhaps disgust men of weak and pusil-
 " lanimous minds; but fortunately there are
 " none such in this august assembly. This ex-
 " pedient is to put to death, without mercy, the
 " greatest part of these unworthy rebels, and to
 " reduce the rest to the condition of Negroes.
 " The brave and generous Spartans, so celebrat-
 " ed in ancient and modern history, have set you
 " the example. Like them, with their faces
 " muffled up in their cloaks, let our fellow-citi-
 " zens and satellites go out clandestinely in the
 " night-time, and massacre the children of our
 " Helots by the side of their fathers, and on the
 " breasts of their mothers, leaving only a suffi-
 " cient

cient number of them alive for the labours, and for our security." BOOK
XVIII.

ENGLISHMEN, you shudder at this horrid proposal, and you ask what measure might be adopted; either conquerors or conquered, this is what you have to do: If the resentment excited by your barbarities can be calmed, if the Americans can shut their eyes upon the ravages that surround them, if when walking over the ruins of their cities reduced to ashes, and of their habitations destroyed, over the bones of their fellow-citizens scattered in the field; if while they breathe the scent of blood which your hands have spilt in all parts, it can be possible that they should forget the enormities of your despotism; if they can allow themselves to put the least trust in your discourses, and can persuade themselves that you have seriously renounced the injustice of your pretensions, begin by recalling the assassins who are in your pay; restore liberty to their ports, which you now keep blocked up; let your vessels depart from their coasts; and if there be a wise citizen among you, let him take an olive branch in his hand, let him present himself to them and say:

"O you, our fellow-citizens and our old friends, allow us to use this title; we have indeed profaned it, but our repentance makes us worthy of resuming it, and we shall hereafter aspire to the glory of preserving it; we confess, in the presence of Heaven, and of this earth, which have been witnesses of it, that our pretensions have been unjust, and our proceedings barbarous. Forget them as we do. Build up your ramparts and your fortresses. Assemble yourselves again in your peaceable habitations. Let us wipe out from our memory even the last drop of blood that has been spilt.

BOOK XVIII. spilt. We admire the generous spirit which hath directed you. It is the same to which in similar circumstances we have owed our salvation. It is particularly by these signs that we know you to be our fellow-citizens and our brethren: Your wish is liberty and you shall be free. You shall be free in all the extent that we ourselves have attached to this sacred name. It is not from us that you hold this right, we can neither give it nor take it away from you. You have received it as we have, from nature, which the crime and the sword of tyrants can fight against but cannot destroy. We pretend not to any kind of superiority over you, the honour of aspiring to an equality is sufficiently glorious for us. We are too well acquainted with the inestimable advantage of governing ourselves, to be desirous hereafter of depriving you of it.

“MASTERS and supreme arbitrators of your own legislation, if in your States you can create a better form of government than our’s is, we congratulate you previously upon it. Your happiness will inspire us, with no other sentiment than the desire of imitating you. Form for yourselves constitutions adapted to your climate, to your soil, and to the New World, which you are civilizing. Who can be better acquainted with your own wants than yourselves? Proud and virtuous souls, such as your’s are, ought not to obey any laws except those which they give themselves. Every other yoke would be unworthy of them. Regulate your taxes yourselves. We only ask of you to conform to our custom in the levying of the impost. We will present you with a state of our wants, and you will determine yourselves

" yourselves the just proportion between your BOOK
XVIII.
" supplies and your riches.

" MOREOVER, exercise your own industry as
" we do our's, and that without any restraint.
" Make the best advantage of the benefits of Na-
" ture, and of the fertile regions which you in-
" habit. Let the iron of your mines, the fleeces
" of your flocks, the skins of the wild animals wan-
" dering in your forests, be prepared in your
" own manufactures, and acquire in your hands
" an additional value. Let your ports be free.
" Let your commodities and the productions
" of your arts be conveyed to all parts of the
" world, from whence you may also derive all
" those which you are in want of. This is one
" of our privileges, let it also be your's. The
" empire of the ocean, which we have subdued
" by two centuries of grandeur and glory, belongs
" to you as well as to us. We will be united
" by the ties of commerce. You will bring your
" productions to us, which we will accept in pre-
" ference to those of all other people, and we
" hope that you will prefer our's to those of fo-
" reign nations, without however being restrain-
" ed to it by any law, unless by that of the com-
" mon interest, and by the title of fellow-citizens
" and friends.

" LET your ships and our's, decorated with
" the same flag, cover the seas, and when these
" friendly vessels shall meet in the midst of the
" deserts of the ocean, let shouts of joy be heard
" on both sides. Let peace be renewed, and let
" concord last for ever between us. We under-
" stand at length, that the chain of reciprocal
" benevolence, is the only one that can connect
" empires at such a distance, and that every
" other principle of union would be unjust and
" precarious.

" ACCORD-

BOOK
XVIII

“ ACCORDING to this new plan of everlasting
 “ friendship, let agriculture, industry, legisla-
 “ tion, the arts, and that first of all sciences,
 “ that of doing the greatest good to States and
 “ to mankind, be improved among us. Let the
 “ account of your happiness invite around your
 “ dwellings all the unfortunate men upon the
 “ face of the earth. Let tyrants of all countries,
 “ and all oppressors, whether political or reli-
 “ gious, know, that there exists a place upon
 “ the earth where one may escape from their
 “ chains; where humanity disgraced hath raised
 “ it's head again; where the harvests grow for
 “ the poor; where the laws are no more than
 “ the guarantee of happiness; where religion is
 “ free, and conscience hath ceased to be a slave;
 “ where Nature, in a word, seems to wish to
 “ justify herself for having created man, and
 “ where government for so long a time guilty
 “ over all the earth, at length makes ample re-
 “ paration for it's crimes. Let the idea of such
 “ an asylum alarm the despots, and serve as a
 “ restraint to them; for if the happiness of man-
 “ kind be a matter of indifference to them, they
 “ are at least ambitious and avaricious, and are
 “ therefore anxious to preserve both their power
 “ and their riches.

“ WE ourselves, O ! our fellow-citizens and our
 “ friends, we ourselves will profit by your example.
 “ If our constitution should be impaired; if pub-
 “ lic wealth should corrupt the court, and the court
 “ the nation; if our kings, to whom we have
 “ given so many terrible lessons, should at length
 “ forget them; if we who were an august people,
 “ were threatened with becoming the meanest
 “ and vilest of all herds by selling ourselves;
 “ the sight of your virtues and of your laws might
 “ perhaps reanimate us. It would recall to our
 “ degraded

" degraded minds both the value and the gran- BOOK
 " deur of liberty, and if this example should be XVIII
 " ineffectual, if slavery, the consequence of ve-
 " nal corruption, should one day establish itself
 " in that same country, which hath been de-
 " luded with blood in the cause of liberty, and
 " where our fathers have seen scaffolds erected
 " for tyrants; we will then abandon this un-
 " grateful land devoted to despotism, and we
 " will leave the monster to reign over a desert.
 " You will then receive us as friends and bre-
 " thren. You will partake with us that soil, that
 " air, as free as the souls of it's generous inha-
 " bitants, and thanks to your virtues, we shall
 " find England and a country again.

" SUCH are, brave fellow-citizens, both our
 " hopes and our wishes. Receive therefore our
 " oaths as the pledges of so holy an alliance. Let
 " us invoke, to render this treaty more solemn, let
 " us invoke our common ancestors, who have
 " all been animated with the spirit of liberty as
 " you are, and who have not feared to die in it's
 " defence. Let us call to witness the memory
 " of the illustrious founders of your colonies,
 " that of your august legislators, of the philoso-
 " pher Locke, who was the first man upon earth
 " who made a code of toleration, and of the ve-
 " nerable Penn, who first founded a city of
 " brothers. The souls of these great men, whose
 " eyes are undoubtedly in this moment fixed
 " upon us, are worthy to preside at a treaty
 " which is to secure the peace of two worlds.
 " Let us swear in their presence, and upon those
 " arms with which you have fought us, to re-
 " main ever united and faithful, and when we
 " have pronounced all together an oath of peace,
 " then let these same arms be taken up, and let
 " them be conveyed into a sacred deposit, where
 " fathers

BOOK XVIII. "fathers will shew them 'to every rising genera-
 "tion; and there let them be kept faithfully from
 "age to age, in order to be one day turned
 "against the first man, whether English or Ame-
 "rican, who shall dare to propose the breaking
 "off of this alliance, equally useful and equally
 "honourable to both nations."

AT this discourse methinks I hear the cities, the hamlets, the fields, and all the shores of North America, resound with acclamations, and repeating with emotion the name of their English brethren, the name of the mother-country. Joyful fireworks succeed to the conflagrations of discord, and in the mean while, the nations, jealous of your power, will remain silent in astonishment and despair.

THE parliament is going to assemble, and what have we to expect? Will the voice of reason be heard there, or will they persevere in their folly? Will they be the defenders of the people, or the instrument of the tyranny of ministers? Will their acts be the decrees of a free nation, or edicts dictated by the court? I attend at the debates. These revered places resound with harangues full of moderation and wisdom. Soft persuasion seems to flow from the lips of the most distinguished orators. They draw tears from the audience. My heart is elated with hope, when suddenly a voice, the organ of despotism and of war, suspends this delightful emotion.

"ENGLISHMEN," saith this furious declaimer, "can you hesitate one moment? They are your rights, your most important interests; it is the glory of your name which must be defended. These great benefits are not attacked by a foreign power, but threatened by a domestic enemy. The danger is the greater, the outrage more sensibly felt."

"Br.

" BETWEEN two rival nations in arms for mutual pretensions, policy may sometimes suspend the fight. Against rebellious subjects the greatest fault is delay. All moderation is weakness. The standard of rebellion was raised by boldness; let it be pulled down by force. Let the sword of justice fall upon those who have unsheathed it. Let us lose no time: to stifle revolutions, there is a first moment which must be seized upon. Let us not leave to astonished minds the leisure to accustom themselves to their crime; to the chiefs, the time to confirm their power; nor to the people, that of learning to obey new masters. The people in a rebellion are almost always drawn away by some foreign impulse; neither their fury, nor their hatred; nor their attachment, belong to them. Their passions are given to them as their weapons. Let us display before their eyes the strength and majesty of the British empire. They will soon fall down at our feet; they will pass on, in an instant, from terror to remorse, and from remorse to obedience. If we must have recourse to the severity of arms, let there be no quarter. In civil war, mercy is the most false of all virtues. When once the sword is drawn, it should never be sheathed till submission be attained. Henceforward it is their's to answer to heaven and to earth for their own misfortunes. Let us consider, that a temporary severity, exercised in these rebellious regions, must secure to us obedience and peace for ages to come.

" To suspend our exertions, and to disarm us, we are repeatedly told, that this country is peopled with our fellow-citizens, our friends, and our brothers. What, shall we invoke in

" their

BOOK
XVIII.

“ their favour names which they have outraged,
 “ and ties which they have broken? These
 “ names, and these sacred ties, are the things
 “ that accuse them, and pronounce them guilty.
 “ Since when do those titles, so revered, im-
 “ pose duties only upon us? Since when have
 “ rebellious children the right of taking up arms
 “ against their mother, of depriving her of her
 “ inheritance, and of tearing her to pieces?
 “ They talk of liberty. I respect the name as
 “ much as they do: but, is this liberty inde-
 “ pendence? Is it the right of subverting a le-
 “ gislation, established and founded for two cen-
 “ turies past? Is it the right of usurping all our
 “ rights? They talk of liberty; and I talk of
 “ the supremacy and the sovereign power of
 “ England.

“ WHAT, if they had any complaints to make,
 “ if they refused to bear with us a small portion
 “ of the burden which oppresses us, and to share
 “ in our expences, as we make them share in
 “ our grandeur, had they no other way of doing
 “ this, but by rebellion, but by arms? They are
 “ called our fellow-citizens, and our friends;
 “ but I behold in them nothing more than our
 “ persecutors, and the most cruel enemies of our
 “ country. Undoubtedly, we have had common
 “ ancestors; but these respectable forefathers I
 “ myself call upon with confidence. If their
 “ shades could resume their place here, their
 “ indignation would be equal to our's. With
 “ what resentment would these virtuous citizens
 “ hear, that those of their descendants who had
 “ settled beyond the seas, had no sooner felt their
 “ own strength, than they had made the guilty
 “ trial of it against their country; and that they
 “ have turned her own benefits against her.
 “ All of them, yes, all of them, even that pa-
 “ cific

“cific set into whom their founder instilled the BOOK
 “duty of never sleeping their hands in blood; XVIII.
 “they who had respected the rights and the lives
 “of savage people; they who, in the enthusiasm
 “of humanity, have broken the fetters of their
 “slaves; at present equally faithless to their
 “country and to their religion, take up arms
 “for the purpose of carnage, and to use them
 “against you. They treat all men as their bre-
 “thren, and you alone, of all people, are ex-
 “cluded from this title. They have taught the
 “world; that the savage Americans, and the
 “Negroes of Africa, are henceforth less strangers
 “to them than the citizens of England.

“ARM yourselves, therefore, avenge your of-
 “fended rights, avenge your greatness betrayed.
 “Display that power, which makes itself be-
 “feared in Europe, in Africa, and in India;
 “and which hath so often astonished America
 “itself; and since between a sovereign people,
 “and the subject that rebels, there can hence-
 “forth be no other treaty than that of force, let
 “force determine the matter. Preserve, and re-
 “take that universe which belongs to you, and
 “which ingratitude and boldness would deprive
 “you of.”

THE sophisms of a vehement orator, supported England
 by the influence of the crown, and by national resolves to
 pride, extinguished in most of the representatives reduce her
 of the people the desire of a pacific arrangement. colonies
 The new resolutions are similar to the former. by force.
 Every thing in them even bears, in a more deci-
 sive manner, the stamp of ferociousness and despo-
 tism. Armies are raised, and fleets are equipped.
 The generals and the admirals sail towards the
 New World, with destructive and sanguinary or-
 ders and plans. Nothing but unreserved submis-
 sion

BOOK XVIII. fion can preserve or put a stop to the ravages ordained against the colonies.

TILL this memorable period, the Americans had confined themselves to a resistance authorized by the English laws themselves. They had shewn no other ambition, but that of being maintained in the very limited rights which they had always enjoyed. Their chiefs, even, who might be supposed to have more extensive views, had not yet ventured to speak to the people of any thing more than an advantageous accommodation. By going further, they would have been apprehensive of losing the confidence of the people, attached by habit to an empire under the protection of which they had prospered. The report of the great preparations that were making for war in the Old Hemisphere, either to enslave or to reduce the New one to ashes, extinguished what remains there might be of affection for the original government. It now remained only to inspire the minds of men with energy. This effect was produced by a work intitled *Common Sense*. We shall here give an account of the ground-work of this doctrine, without confining ourselves precisely to the order the writer hath adopted.

NEVER, says the author of this celebrated work, never did an interest of greater importance engage the attention of the nations. It is not the concern of a city, or of a province, it is that of an immense continent, and of a great part of the globe. It is not the concern of a day, it is that of ages. The present period will determine the fate of a long futurity; and many hundred years after the cessation of our existence, the sun, in giving light to this hemisphere, will shine either upon our shame or our glory. We have for a long time talked of reconciliation and peace; but

every thing is changed. As soon as arms are taken up, as soon as the first drop of blood is spilt, the time for debate is past. One day hath given rise to a revolution. One day hath transported us into a new age.

BOOK
XVIII.

MEN of timorous minds, and who judge of the future by the past, think we are in want of the protection of England. She may be useful to a rising colony; she is become dangerous to a nation completely formed. Infancy stands in need of support, but youth must walk free, and with the elevation that is suitable to it. Between one nation and another, as between man and man, he who can have the power and the right to protect me, may also have the power and the will to do me an injury. I give up the protector, in order that I may not have a master to fear.

In Europe, the people are too closely pressed together, to admit this part of the globe to enjoy constant peace. The interests of courts and of nations are always clashing with each other. As the friends of England, we are obliged to have all her enemies. The dowry which this alliance will bring to America is perpetual war. Let us, therefore, separate. Neutrality, trade, and peace; such are the foundations of our grandeur.

The authority of Great Britain must, sooner or later, have an end. This is the operation of nature, of necessity, and of time. The English government, therefore, can only give us a temporary constitution; and we shall only bequeath to our posterity, an American state, burdened with *dissensions and debts*. If we be desirous of securing our happiness, let us separate. If we be fathers, and if we love our children, let us separate. Laws and liberty, such is the inheritance we owe them.

ENGLAND

BOOK

XVIII

intreat for new chains, and to cement ourselves the edifice of our slavery? What! shall it be by the light of conflagrations, shall it be over the graves of our fathers, of our children, and of our wives, that we shall sign a treaty with our oppression? And will they, covered over with our blood, condescend to forgive us? Alas! we should then be nothing more than a vile object of astonishment to Europe, of indignation to America, and of contempt even to our enemies. If we can obey, we have had no right to contend. Liberty alone can absolve us. Liberty, and entire liberty, is the only aim worthy of our efforts, and of our perils. What do I say? It belongs to us from this moment. It is in the bloody plains of Lexington that our claims are registered, it is there that England hath torn in pieces that contract which united us to her. Yes, at the instant when England fired the first shot against us, nature herself proclaimed us free and independent.

LET us avail ourselves of the benefits we receive from our enemies. The youth of nations is the age the most favourable to their independence. It is the period of energy and vigour. Our minds are not yet surrounded with that parade of luxury, which serves as a hostage to tyranny. Our limbs are not yet enervated by the arts of effeminacy. There is none of that nobility bearing sway among us, which, even by its constitution, is allied to kings, which is no further attached to liberty, than when it can make it the means of oppression, that nobility, eager of rights and titles, for whom, in times of revolution and crisis, the people are nothing more than an instrument, and for whom the supreme power is a corrupter always at hand.

YOUR

YOUR colonies are formed of plain and courageous, laborious and proud men; men who are at once the proprietors and the cultivators of their lands. Liberty is the first of their wants. Rustic labours have previously inured them to war. Public enthusiasm will bring forth talents unknown. It is in revolutions that the minds of men are enlarged, that heroes make their appearance, and take their post. Recall Holland to your memory, and the multitude of extraordinary men to whom the contest for her liberty gave birth: such is your example. Recollect her success: such is your presage.

LET our first measure be to form a constitution that may unite us. The moment is come. Later than this, it would be abandoned to an uncertain futurity, and to the caprices of chance. The more we acquire men and riches, the more barriers will arise between us. How shall we then conciliate so many interests, and so many provinces? For a union of this kind, it is necessary that every people should be sensible at once of the weakness and strength of the whole. Great calamities, or great apprehensions, must prevail. Then it is, that among nations, as among individuals, those vigorous and rooted friendships take place, which reciprocally bind the souls and the interest of men. Then it is, that one single spirit universally prevailing, forms the genius of states; and that all the scattered forces become, by being collected, one sole and terrible force. Thanks to our persecutors, we are now at that period; and if we have courage, it will be a fortunate one for us. Few nations have seized the favourable moment for the formation of their government. If this moment should once escape, it never returns; and men are consequently punished with ages of anarchy and slavery. Let not a

BOOK XVIII. ENGLAND is at too great a distance from us to govern us. What, shall we always cross two thousand leagues to demand the protection of laws, to claim justice, to justify ourselves of imaginary crimes, and meanly to solicit the court and the ministry of a foreign climate? Must we wait whole years for every answer, supposing it were not even too often injustice that we were obliged to go in search of across the ocean? No, for a great state, the center and the seat of power must necessarily be in the state itself. Nothing but the despotism of the East can possibly have accustomed the people thus to receive laws from distant masters, or from bashaws, who are the representatives of invisible tyrants. But remember; that the more the distance increases, the heavier is the weight of despotism; and that the people, then deprived of almost all the benefits of government, have none but the misfortunes and vices of it.

NATURE hath not created a world, in order to subject it to the inhabitants of an island in another hemisphere. Nature hath established laws of equilibrium, which she follows in all parts, in the heavens as on the earth. By the rule of quantity and of distance, America can belong only to itself.

THERE is no government without a mutual confidence, between him who commands and him who obeys. Otherwise all is over, the communication is interrupted, and cannot possibly be renewed. England hath shewn too evidently, that she wanted to command us as slaves; America, that she was equally sensible of her rights and her strength. Each of them hath betrayed it's secret; and from that moment no treaty can take place. It would be signed by hatred and mistrust;

mistrust; hatred which cannot forgive, and mis-
trust, which in it's nature is irreconcilable.

B O O K
XVIII.

Would you know what would be the consequence of an accommodation? Your ruin. You stand in need of laws, and will not obtain them. Who is to give them to you? The English nation? But she is jealous of your increase. The king? He is your enemy. Yourself, in your assemblies? Do you not recollect, that every legislation is subject to the negative right of the monarch who wishes to subdue you? This right would be a terrible one, incessantly militating against you. Should you make demands, they will be eluded: should you form plans of grandeur and commerce, they would become an object of alarm for the mother-country. Your government would be nothing more than a clandestine war, such as that of an enemy who wishes to destroy without fighting; it would be, in political œconomy, a slow and concealed assassination, which gives rise to languor, which prolongs and entertains weakness, and which, by a destructive art, keeps the body equally suspended between life and death. If you should submit to England, such will be your fate.

We have a right to take up arms. Our rights are, necessity, a just defence; our misfortunes, those of our children, the enormities committed against us. Our rights are our august title of nation. The sword must decide between us. The tribunal of war is henceforth the only tribunal that exists for us. If we must fight, let it at least be for a cause that is worthy, and which will reward us for the lavishment of our riches and our blood. What! shall we expose ourselves to see our cities destroyed, our countries ravaged, our families put to the sword, merely to obtain an honourable accommodation, that is to say, to
intreat

BOOK XVIII. intreat for new chains, and to cement ourselves the edifice of our slavery? What! shall it be by the light of conflagrations; shall it be over the graves of our fathers, of our children, and of our wives, that we shall sign a treaty with our oppression? And will they, covered over with our blood, condescend to forgive us? Alas! we should then be nothing more than a vile object of astonishment to Europe, of indignation to America, and of contempt even to our enemies. If we can obey, we have had no right to contend. Liberty alone can absolve us. Liberty, and entire liberty, is the only aim worthy of our efforts, and of our perils. What do I say? It belongs to us from this moment. It is in the bloody plains of Lexington that our claims are registered; it is there that England, bath torn in pieces that contract which united us to her. Yes, at the instant when England fired the first shot against us, nature herself proclaimed us free and independent.

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B O O K similar fault prepare similar regrets for us, which
 XVIII. would be ineffectual.

LET us, therefore, seize upon the moment which is the only one for us. It is in our power to form the finest constitution that ever existed among men. You have read in your sacred writings, the history of mankind buried under a general deluge of the globe. One single family survived, and was commissioned by the Supreme Being to renew the earth. We are that family. Despotism hath overwhelmed every thing; and we can renews the world a second time.

AT this instant, we are going to determine the fate of a race of men more numerous, perhaps, than all the people of Europe taken together. Shall we wait till we become the prey of the conqueror, and till the hopes of the universe shall be frustrated? Let us suppose, that all the future generations of the world have at this moment their eyes fixed upon us, and are asking us for liberty. We are going to settle their destiny. If we betray them, they will one day walk over our graves with their chains, and perhaps load us with imprecations.

REMEMBER a work that hath appeared among us, and the motto of which was, UNION OR DEATH.

LET us therefore unite, and begin by declaring our INDEPENDENCE. That alone can efface the title of rebellious subjects, which our insolent oppressors dare to bestow upon us. That alone can make us rise to that dignity that is our due, insure us allies among the powers, and imprint respect even on our enemies; and if we treat with them, that alone can give us the right of treating with that right and majesty which belongs to

BUT I will repeat it : Let us lose no time. Our ^{B O O K} uncertainty occasions our weakness. Let us dare ^{XVIII.} to be free, and we are so. 'When we are ready to get over this step, we start back.' We all look at each other with anxious curiosity. It seems as if we were astonished at our boldness, and frightened at our courage. But it is no longer time to calculate. In great affairs, and where there is but one great measure to adopt, too much circumspection ceases to be prudence. Whatever is extreme, demands an extreme resolution. Then the most enterprising steps are the most prudent ; and the excess of boldness becomes even the means and the warrant of success.

SUCH was the basis of the sentiments and ideas diffused in this work. They confirmed in their principles those bold men, who for a long time past had asked to be entirely detached from the mother-country. The timid citizens, who had hitherto hesitated, at length determined on this great separation. The wish for independence had a sufficient number of partizans, to enable the general congress to declare it on the 4th of July 1776.

The colonies break the ties which united them to England ; and declare themselves independent of that country.

O, THAT I had received from nature the genius and eloquence of the celebrated orators of Athens and Rome ! With what sublimity, with what enthusiasm should I not speak of those generous men, who by their patience, their wisdom, and their courage, have erected this grand edifice. Hancock, Franklin, and the two Adams's, were the principal persons in this interesting scene ; but they were not the only ones. Posterity will be acquainted with them all. Their celebrated names will be transmitted to it by a more fortunate pen than mine. The marble and the bronze will exhibit them to the remotest ages. At sight of them, the friend of liberty will feel his eyes

THAT he hath caused our coasts to be ravaged, our ports to be destroyed, and our people to be massacred.

THAT he hath compelled our fellow citizens, taken prisoners at sea, to bear arms against their country, to become the assassins of their friends and their brethren, or to perish themselves by those beloved hands

THAT he hath fomented intestine divisions amongst us, and endeavoured to excite against our peaceful inhabitants, barbarous savages, accustomed to massacre without distinction of rank, of sex, or of age, every person they met with

THAT at this time mercenary and foreign armies have arrived on our shores, who were intended to consummate the work of desolation and of death.

AND that a prince, whose character was thus marked by all the features of tyranny, was not fit to govern a free people.

A PROCEEDING which dissolved the ties formed by consanguinity, by religion, and by habit, ought to have been supported by a great unanimity and by prudent and vigorous measures. The united states of America gave themselves a confederate constitution, which added all the exterior strength of the monarchy to all the interior advantages of a republican government

EACH province had an assembly formed by the representatives of the different districts, and who were intrusted with the legislative power. The executive power was vested in the president. It was his right and his duty to hear the complaints of all the citizens, to convene them when circumstances required it, to provide for the equipment and subsistence of the troops, and to concert the operations with their chiefs. He was placed at the head of a secret committee, whose business

business it was to keep up a constant intercourse with the general Congress. The time of his administration is limited to two years, but the laws allowed it to be prolonged. BOOK
XVIII.

The provinces were not obliged to give an account of their administration to the great council of the nation, although it was composed of the deputies of all the colonies. The superiority of the general congress over each particular congress was limited to what concerned policy and war.

BUT some people have judged that the institution of this body was not so well planned as the legislation of the provinces. It should seem indeed, that confederate States, who emerge from the condition of subjects to rise to independence, cannot without danger intrust their delegates with an unlimited power of making peace or war. For if these were either faithless or not much enlightened, they might again subject the whole State to the same yoke from which it attempts to free itself. It seems that in the instant of a revolution, the public wishes cannot be too much known nor too literally explained. It is undoubtedly necessary, say they, that all the measures, all the operations which concur to the common attack or defence, should be decided by the common representatives of the body of the State; but the continuation of the war, and the conditions of peace ought to be debated in each province; and the deliberations should be transmitted to the congress by the deputies, who should submit the opinion of their provinces to the majority of votes. Lastly, it is added, that if it be right in established governments for the people to confide in the wisdom of the senate, it is necessary in a State where the constitution is forming, where the people, still uncertain of their fate, require their liberty

B O O K filled with pleasing tears, and his heart will bound with joy. Under the bust of one of them has been written, **HE TOOK FROM HEAVEN IT'S THUNDER, AND FROM TYRANTS THEIR SCEPTRE.** They will all partake with him the last words of this encomium.

HEROIC region! mine advanced age will not allow me to visit thee! I shall never be present amidst the respectable persons who compose your **Areopagus.** I shall never assist at the deliberations of your Congress. I shall die without having seen the residence of toleration, of morality, and of sound laws; of virtue, and of liberty. A free and sacred land will not cover my ashes: but I could have wished it; and my last words shall be vows addressed to Heaven for your prosperity.

ALTHOUGH America was assured that her conduct would meet with universal approbation, yet she thought it her duty to lay before the nations the motives of it. She published her manifesto*, in which we read; the history of the English nation, and of it's king, will offer to posterity, in speaking of them and of us, nothing but a heap of outrages and usurpations, all equally tending to the establishment of absolute tyranny in these provinces.

THIS history will say, that it's monarch hath refused to give his consent to laws which were the most salutary and the most necessary for the public good.

THAT he hath transferred the assemblies to inconvenient places, at a distance from the records, in order to bring the deputies more easily into his views.

* The English reader will easily perceive, that this account is not taken literally from the original manifesto published by the Americans.

THAT he hath several times dissolved the chamber of the representatives, because the rights of the people were strenuously defended there. BOOK XVIII

THAT after the dissolution, the states have been left too long without representatives, and were consequently exposed to the inconveniences resulting from the want of an assembly.

THAT he hath endeavoured to put a stop to population, by making it difficult for a foreigner to be naturalized, and by requiring too much for the lands of which he granted the property.

THAT he hath put the judges too much under his dependence, by enacting that they should hold their offices and their salaries from him alone.

THAT he hath created new places, and filled those regions with a multitude of agents, who devoured our substance and disturbed our tranquillity.

THAT in time of full peace he hath kept up considerable forces in the midst of us, without the consent of the legislative power.

THAT he hath rendered the military power independent of, and even superior to, the civil law.

THAT he hath settled with corrupt men to lodge armed soldiers in our houses, and to shelter them from punishment for the murders which they might commit in America; to destroy our trade in all the parts of the globe, to impose taxes on us without our consent, to deprive us in several cases of our trials, by juries, to transport us beyond seas that we might be brought to trial there, to take away our characters, suppress our best laws, and alter the basis and the form of our government, to suspend our own legislation in order to give us other laws

THAT he hath himself abdicated his government over the provinces of America, by declaring that we had forfeited his protection, and by waging war against us.

THAT

BOOK
XVIII

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BOOK
XVIII.

erty sword in hand, that all the citizens should continually attend at the councils in the army, and in the public places, and that they should always keep a watchful eye over the representatives to whom they have intrusted their destiny.

THOUGH these principles be generally true, it may however be answered, that it was difficult perhaps to apply them to the new republic formed by the Americans. The case is not with them as with the confederate republics we see in Europe, I mean Holland and Switzerland, which only occupy a territory of small extent, and where it is an easy matter to establish a rapid communication between the several provinces. The same thing may be said of the confederacies of ancient Greece. These States were situated at a small distance from each other, almost entirely confined within the limits of the Peloponnesus, or within the circuit of a narrow Archipelago. But the United States of America, dispersed over an immense continent, occupying in the New World a space of near fifteen degrees, separated by deserts, mountains, gulphs, and by a vast extent of coasts, cannot enjoy so speedy a communication. If congress were not impowered to decide upon political interests without the particular deliberations of each province; if upon every occasion of the least importance, and every unforeseen event, it were necessary for the representatives to receive new orders, and as it were a new power, this body would remain in a state of inactivity. The distances to be traversed, together with the length and the multiplicity of the debates might be too frequently prejudicial to the general good.

BESIDES, it is never in the infancy of a constitution, and in the midst of the great commotions for liberty, that we need apprehend that a body

of representatives should betray, either from corruption or weakness, the interests with which they are intrusted. The general spirit will rather be inflamed and exalted in such a body. There it is that the genius of the nation resides in all its vigour. Chosen by the esteem of their fellow-citizens, chosen at a time when every public function is dangerous, and every vote an honour; placed at the head of those who will eternally compose this celebrated Arcopagus, and on that account naturally induced to consider public liberty as the work of their own hands, they must be possessed with the enthusiasm of founders, whose pride it is to engrave for future centuries their names upon the frontispiece of the august monument which is erecting. The apprehensions which the favourers of the contrary system might have upon this account, appear therefore to be ill-founded.

I WILL go further still. It might happen that a people who fight for their liberty, fatigued with a long and painful struggle, and more affected with the dangers of the moment than with the idea of their future happiness, might feel their courage damped, and might one day, perhaps, be tempted to prefer dependence and peace to a tempestuous independence, which would expose them to dangers and bloodshed. It is then that it would be advantageous to those people to have deprived themselves of the power of making peace with their oppressors, and to have vested that power in the hands of a senate which they had chosen to be the organ of their will at a time when that will was free, haughty, and courageous. It seems as if they had told their senate at the time of their institution, We raise the standard of war against our tyrants; if our arms should grow weary of the fight, if we should ever be capable

BOOK XVIII. pable of degrading ourselves so far as to sue for repose, support us against our weakness: Do not attend to wishes unworthy of ourselves, which we previously disavow; and do not pronounce the name of peace till our chains shall be entirely broken.

ACCORDINGLY, if we consult the history of republics, we shall find that the multitude have almost always the impetuosity and the ardour of the first moment; but that it is only in a small number of men chosen and fit to serve as chiefs, in whom reside those constant and vigorous resolutions which proceed with a firm and certain step towards a great aim, and which are never altered, but obstinately struggle against calamities, fortune, and mankind.

War begins between the United States and England.

HOWEVER this may be, and whatever side we may take in this political discussion, the Americans had not yet formed their system of government, when in the month of March, Hopkins was carrying off from the English islands of Providence a very numerous artillery, and a great quantity of warlike stores; when at the beginning of May, Carleton drove away from Canada the Provincials who were employed in reducing Quebec, in order to finish the conquest of that great possession; when in June, Clinton and Parker were so vigorously driven back upon the coasts of South America. The declaration of independence was followed by greater scenes.

Howe had succeeded the feeble Gage. It was even the new general who had evacuated Boston. Received in Halifax on the second of April, he quitted it the tenth of June to go to Staten Island, where he was successively joined by the land and sea forces which he expected; and on the 28th of August he landed without opposition upon Long Island, under the protection of a fleet,

com-

commanded by the admiral his brother. The Americans did not display much more vigour in the inland countries than upon the coasts. After a trifling resistance and considerable losses they took refuge on the continent, with a facility which a conqueror, who had known how to improve his advantages, would never have given them.

BOOK
XVIII.

THE new republicans forsook the city of New York with still greater facility than they had evacuated Long Island, and they retired to Kingsbridge, where every thing seemed disposed for an obstinate resistance.

HAD the English followed up their first successes with that activity which the circumstances required, the new levies which were opposed to them would infallibly have been dispersed or obliged to lay down their arms. Six weeks were allowed them to recover themselves, and they did not abandon their intrenchments till the night of the 2d of November, when they were convinced, by the motions which were made under their eyes, that their camp was going to be attacked.

WASHINGTON their chief, did not choose to trust the fate of his country to an action, which might have been, and which must naturally have been, decisive against the great interests he was intrusted with. He knew that delays are always favourable to the inhabitants of a country and fatal to strangers. This conviction determined him to fall back upon the Jerseys with the intention of protracting the war. Favoured by the winter, by the knowledge of the country, by the nature of the territory, which deprived discipline of part of it's advantages, he might flatter himself that he should be able to cover the greatest part of this fertile province, and to keep the enemy at a distance from Pennsylvania. All of a sudden

BOOK sudden he found his colours forsaken by soldiers,
XVIII. who were engaged for no more than six or even
 three months, and from an army of five and
 twenty thousand men, he scarcely kept together
 two thousand five hundred, with whom he found
 himself very fortunate to escape beyond the De-
 laware.

WITHOUT losing a moment the royal troops
 ought to have crossed the river in pursuit of this
 small number of fugitives, and to have completed
 the dispersion of them. If the five thousand men
 destined for the conquest of Rhode Island, had
 gone up the river upon the ships, they were on
 board of, the junction of the two corps would
 have been made without opposition in Philadel-
 phia itself, and the new republic would have been
 extinguished in the famous and interesting city
 which had given it birth.

THE English general was perhaps censured at
 that time for having been too timorous and too
 circumspect in the operations of the field. It is
 however certain, that he was rash in the distri-
 bution of his winter-quarters. He settled them
 as if there had not been a single individual in
 America, who either had the power or the incli-
 nation to molest them.

THIS presumption emboldened the militia of
 Pennsylvania, of Maryland, and of Virginia, who
 had united for their common safety. The 25th
 of December, they crossed the Delaware, and fell
 unawares upon Trentown, which was occupied
 by fifteen hundred of the twelve thousand Hef-
 sians, who had been so basely sold to Great Bri-
 tain by their avaricious master. This corps was
 either massacred, taken, or intirely dispersed. A
 week after, three English regiments were also
 driven out of Princes Town, but not without hav-
 ing shewn more courage than the foreign troops

in their pay. These unexpected events reduced the enemies of America in Jersey, to the posts of Amboy and of Brunswick; and they were even much harassed there during the remainder of the bad season. The effect of great passions and great dangers is frequently to astonish the soul, and to plunge it in a kind of stupor which deprives it of the use of it's powers. By degrees it comes to itself and recovers. All it's faculties suspended for a moment, exert themselves with greater energy. It strains all it's springs, and it's strength becomes equal to it's situation. In a great multitude some individuals first experience this effect, and it is quickly communicated to all. This revolution had been accomplished in the confederate States, and armed men issued forth from all quarters of them.

THE campaign of 1777, was opened very late. The English army despairing of making a road to Pennsylvania through the Jerseys, embarked at length on the 23d of July, and arrived by Chesapeake Bay, in a country which their generals might be censured for not having invaded the preceding year. Their march was not interrupted till they came to Brandywine, where they attacked and defeated the Americans on the 11th of September, and arrived on the 30th at Philadelphia, which had been abandoned by Congress on the 25th, and by a great number of the inhabitants some days sooner or later.

THIS conquest was attended with no consequences. The conquerors beheld nothing but hatred and devastation around them. Confined in a very circumscribed space, they met with unsurmountable obstacles in extending themselves upon an uncultivated territory. Their gold even did not furnish them with resources from the neighbouring districts, and they could only acquire

BOOK XVIII. require their subsistence from across the seas: Wearied with a confinement which had lasted nine months, they determined to regain New York by the Jerseys; and this long and dangerous retreat was accomplished under the command of Clinton, who had succeeded Howe, with less loss than they would have suffered from a more experienced enemy.

WHILE the English were languishing in Pennsylvania a vast scene was opening in the more northern countries of America. In the month of May 1776, Carleton had driven away the provincials from Canada, and destroyed in October the ships of war which had been constructed upon lake Champlain. This success carried Burgoyne to Ticonderago, in the month of July of the ensuing year. At his approach, the garrison of four thousand men abandoned this important post with the loss of their artillery, ammunition, and rear guard.

THE English general was naturally presumptuous, and his boldness was increased by these evident signs of weakness. He had conceived the design of uniting the troops of Canada with those of New York by the shores of Hudson's Bay. This project was great and daring. Had it succeeded it would have divided South America into two parts and perhaps have ended the war. But in order to make it succeed, it was necessary that while one army was going down the river another should be coming up it. This plan having failed, Burgoyne ought to have perceived from the first that his enterprise was chimerical. It became more so every march. His communication became more distant and his provisions were diminishing. The courage of the Americans being revived, they assembled and closed him on all sides. At length this unfortunate army found itself

itself surrounded on the 13th October at Saratoga, and the nations heard with astonishment, that six thousand of the best disciplined troops of the Old Hemisphere, had laid down their arms before the husbandmen of the New Hemisphere, under the conduct of the fortunate Gates. Those who recollected that the Swedes of Charles XII. who had till then been invincible, had capitulated to the Russians, who were still in a state of barbarism, did not censure the English troops, and only blamed the imprudence of their general.

B O O K
XVIII.

THIS event, so decisive in the opinion of our politicians, was attended with no greater consequences than had resulted from actions less favourable to the American arms. After three years spent in battles, devastation and massacres, affairs were much in the same situation as they were a fortnight after the commencement of hostilities. Let us endeavour to investigate the cause of this strange singularity.

ENGLAND, accustomed to stormy times in her own country, did not at first perceive all the dangerous tendency of the tempest which was rising in her distant possessions. Her troops had been a long time insulted at Boston. An authority independent of her own had been formed in Massachusetts's Bay; the other colonies were preparing to follow that example before administration had seriously attended to those great objects. When they were laid before parliament they excited much clamours in both houses, and there was no end to the debates. The senate of the nation at length determined, that the country which rebelled against it's decrees should be compelled by force to submit to them. But this violent resolution was carried into execution with that delay which is but too common in free States.

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BOOK
XVIII.

ENGLAND was generally of opinion, that defenceless coasts and countries, which were entirely laid open, could not long resist her fleets and her armies. It did not appear to her that this expedition would continue long enough to give the peaceful cultivators of America time to instruct themselves in the art of war. She did not take into consideration the climate, the rivers, the defiles, the woods, the morasses, the want of subsistence increasing in proportion as one advanced in the inland countries, together with an infinite number of other natural obstacles which would impede any rapid progress in a country three-fourths of which were uncultivated, and which ought to be considered as a recent one.

THE successes were still more retarded by the influence of moral causes.

GREAT BRITAIN is the region of parties. Her kings have most generally been convinced of the necessity of abandoning the direction of affairs to the prevailing faction, by which they were commonly conducted with intelligence and vigour, because the principal agents who composed it were animated with one common interest. At that time, to the public spirit which prevails more in England than in any European government, was added the strength of faction, and that spirit of party which is perhaps the first spring of a republic, and which so powerfully agitates the soul, because it is always the effect of some passion. George III. in order to free himself from this long tutelage, composed his council of members unconnected with each other. This innovation was not attended with great inconveniences, as long as events moved on in their ordinary circle. But when the American war had complicated a machine which was already too intricate, it was perceived that it had no longer that

that power and that union so necessary to accomplish great things. The wheels, too much divided, wanted as it were one common impulse and a center of motion. Their progression was alternately tardy and precipitate. The administration resembled too much that of an ordinary monarchy, when the principle of action doth not come from the head of an active and intelligent monarch, who himself collects under his own management all the springs of government. There was no longer any harmony in the enterprises, nor was there any more in the execution of them.

A MINISTRY without harmony and without concord was exposed to the attacks incessantly renewed of an adverse body of men united and compacted together. Their resolutions, whatever they might be, were opposed with ridicule and with argument. They were censured for having acted with violence against citizens at a distance, and they would have been equally censured, had they treated them with more circumspection. Even those who in parliament exclaimed the most vehemently against the treatment the Americans had met with, those who encouraged them the most to resistance, those who perhaps sent them secret succours, were as much averse from their independence, as the minister whom they were incessantly endeavouring to degrade or to render odious. If the opposition had succeeded in disgusting the prince of his confidants, or had prevailed upon him to sacrifice them on account of the clamours of the nation, the project of conquering America would still have been pursued; but with more dignity, with more strength, and with measures perhaps better adapted. But as the reduction of the provinces was not to be accomplished by them, they chose rather that this im-

BOOK XVIII. { mense part of the British empire should be separated from it, than that it should remain attached to it by any other means than their's.

THE generals did not repair, by their activity, the errors of these contradictions, and of the delays which were the consequence of them. They granted too long repose to the soldiers; they wasted in deliberation the time which they should have employed in action; they marched up to new-raised troops with as much precaution as they would have taken against veterans. The English, who are so impetuous in their factions, display on all other occasions a calm and cool character. They require violent passions to agitate them. When this stimulus is wanting, they calculate all their motions. Then they conduct themselves according to the tenor of their character, which in general, except in the arts of imagination and taste, is universally mechanical and prudent. In war, their valour never loses sight of military principles, and leaves little to chance. They scarce ever leave upon their flanks, or in their rear, any thing that can give them uneasiness. This system hath it's advantages, especially in a narrow and confined country, in a country thick set with fortresses, or military posts. But in the present circumstances, and on the vast continent of America, against a people to whom one should not have allowed time to fortify themselves, nor to inure themselves to war, the perfection of the art would perhaps have been, to lay it entirely aside; to substitute to it an impetuous and rapid march, and that boldness which at once astonishes, strikes, and overthrows. It was in the first instances especially, that it would have been proper to impress the Americans, not with the terror of ravages, which irritate rather than they frighten a people armed

armed for their liberty; but with that which arises from the superiority of talents and of arms, and which a warlike people of the Old World ought naturally to have carried into the New One. The confidence of victory would soon have been victory itself. But by too much circumspection, by too servile an attachment to principles and to rules, commanders of little skill failed in rendering that service to their country which she expected, and had a right to expect from them.

THE troops, on the other hand, did not press their officers to lead them on to action. They arrived from a country, where the cause which had obliged them to cross so many seas excited no concern. It was, in the eyes of the people, an effervescence which would have no consequences. They confounded the debates which it occasioned in parliament, with other debates, which were often of little importance. It was not talked of; and if any person happened to mention it, they appeared to be no more interested in it, than in that kind of news which, in great cities, employs the lounging hours of every day. The indifference of the nation had communicated itself to those who were to defend their rights. Perhaps even they were apprehensive of gaining, too decisive an advantage over fellow citizens, who had only taken up arms to prevent slavery. In all the monarchies of Europe, the soldier is only the instrument of despotism, and his sentiments are analogous. He thinks he belongs to the throne, and not to his country; and a hundred thousand men in arms are, nothing more than one hundred thousand disciplined and terrible slaves. The habit even of exercising the empire of force, to which every thing gives way, contributes to extinguish in them all idea of liberty.

BOOK XVIII. liberty. Finally, the discipline, and military subordination, which, at the command of one single man, puts thousands in motion; which doth not suffer the soldier either to see or to ask questions; and which, on the first signal, makes it a rule to kill or to die, tends completely to change in them those sentiments into principles, and makes them as it were the moral system of their condition. It is not the same in England. The influence of the constitution is so powerful, that it extends even to the troops. A man there is a citizen before he is a soldier. Public opinion agreeing with the constitution, honours one of these titles, and thinks little of the other. Accordingly, we see from the history of the revolutions that have happened in this turbulent island, that the English soldier, though enlisted for life, preserves a passion for political liberty, the idea of which cannot be easily conceived in our regions of slavery.

How is it possible that the ardour which was wanting to the British troops should have animated the Hessians, the Brunswickers, and the other Germans, ranged under the same standards, and all of them equally dissatisfied with the sovereigns who had sold them, dissatisfied with the prince who had purchased them, dissatisfied with the nation that paid them, and dissatisfied with their comrades, who despised them as mercenaries. Besides, they had also in the enemy's camp, brothers whom they were afraid of destroying, and by whose hands they would not have wished to be wounded.

THE spirit of the British armies was also changed, in consequence of a revolution which had taken place in the manners of the nation for about fifteen or eighteen years past. The successes of the last war; the extension commerce

had

BOOK XVIII. there may perhaps be opportunities of success, which luxury prevents us from availing ourselves of. Acknowledge that for troops even that are brave, it has been often the first source of victory, that they had no wants. It is too easy a matter, perhaps, to have nothing but death to face. Nations corrupted by wealth have a more difficult trial to undergo; that of supporting the privation of their pleasures.

LET us add to all these reasons, that the instruments of war do not often arrive across the seas in the proper seasons for action. Let us add, that the councils of George III. had too much influence over military operations, which were to be carried on at so great a distance from them; and we shall then comprehend most of the obstacles which impeded the success of the ruinous efforts of the mother-country against the liberty of the colonies.

Why have not the confederate provinces succeeded in driving the English from the continent of America?

BUT wherefore did not America herself repulse from her shores the Europeans who were bringing death or slavery to her?

THIS New World was defended by regular troops, which at first had been enlisted only for three or six months, and afterwards for three years, or even for all the time hostilities might last. It was defended by citizens, who only took the field when their particular province was either invaded or threatened. Neither the standing army, nor the militia assembled for a time, breathed the military spirit. They were planters, merchants, lawyers, exercised only in the arts of peace, and led on to danger by commanders as little versed as their subalterns in the very complicated science of military actions. In this state of things, what hope was there of their acting with advantage against men grown old in discipline, trained to evolutions, skilled in tactics, and

and abundantly provided with all the instruments necessary for a brisk attack, and for an obstinate resistance? BOOK XVIII.

ENTHUSIASM alone could have surmounted such difficulties. But did it really exist more in the colonies than in the mother-country?

THE general opinion in England was, that the parliament had essentially the right of taxing all the regions which constituted a part of the British empire. At the commencement of the troubles, there were not perhaps a hundred individuals who would have called this authority in question. Nevertheless, the refusal of the Americans to acknowledge it, did not set the minds of men against them. There was no hatred entertained against them, even after they had taken up arms to support their pretensions. As the labours in the inland parts of the kingdom were not affected, and as the thunder was only heard at a distance, every one attended peaceably to his own affairs, or devoted himself quietly to his pleasures. All of them expected, without impatience, the end of a scene, the termination of which did not indeed appear uncertain to them.

THE ferment must at first have broken out with more violence in the New than in the Old Hemisphere. Hath ever the odious name of tyranny, or the pleasing word of independance, been pronounced to the nations, without raising emotions in them? But was this ardour kept up? If the imaginations of men had been maintained in their first state of commotion, would it not have been the business of a rising authority to attend to the suppression of the excess of it? But far from having boldness to restrain, it was cowardice they had to guard against. They punished desertion with death, and stained the standard of liberty with assassinations. They refused to exchange

BOOK XVIII. change prisoners, for fear of increasing, in the troops, their inclination, to surrender at the first summons. They were reduced to the necessity of erecting tribunals, appointed to prosecute their generals or their lieutenants who should abandon too lightly the posts committed to their trust. ; It is true, an old man of fourscore years of age, whom they wanted to send back to his home, exclaimed : *My death may be useful ; I shall cover with my body a younger man than I am.* It is true, that Putnam said to a loyalist who was his prisoner : *Return to your commander ; and if he should ask you how many troops I have, tell him I have enough ; that if even he should beat them, there will remain enough ; and that he will experience, in the end, that I shall have enough for him, and for the tyrants whom he serves.* These sentiments, were heroic, but rare ; and they became less common every day.

THE intoxication was never general, and indeed could only be temporary. Of all the causes of energy which have produced so many revolutions on the globe, none existed in the North of America. No outrage had been committed either against religion or the laws. The blood of martyrs and of citizens had not flowed upon the scaffolds. The morals had received no insult. The manners and the customs, none of those objects to which the people are so much attached, had been delivered up to ridicule. Arbitrary power had not dragged any inhabitant from the midst of his family and his friends, to plunge him into the horrors of a prison. Public order had not been subverted. The principles of administration had not been altered ; and the maxims of government had remained always the same. The only circumstance was to know, whether the mother-country had or had not the right, directly or

or indirectly, of laying a slight tax on the colonies: for the accumulated grievances mentioned in the manifesto arose only from this first grievance. This question, which is almost a metaphysical one, was scarce proper to raise an insurrection among the multitude, or at least to interest them strongly in a quarrel, for which they saw their lands deprived of the assistances necessary to fertilize them, their harvests ravaged, and their fields covered with the dead bodies of their relations, or stained with their own blood. To these calamities, which were occasioned by the royal troops on the coast, others were soon added, still more insupportable, in the inland parts of the country.

WHENEVER the restlessness of the courts of London and Versailles had disturbed North America, those two powers had always drawn into their sanguinary contests the wandering inhabitants of this part of the New Hemisphere. Informed by experience how much weight these hords of savages could throw into the scale, the English and the colonists resolved equally to employ them to their mutual destruction.

CARLETON first endeavoured to put arms into the hands of these barbarians in Canada. They answered his applications with saying: "This is a dispute between a father and his children; it does not become us to interfere in this domestic quarrel."—"But if the rebels should come to attack this province, would you not assist us in repelling them?"—"Since the peace, the hatchet of war is buried forty fathom deep."—"You could certainly find it, if you were to dig for it."—"The handle is rotten, and we could make no use of it."

THE United States were not more successful. "We have heard of the differences that have
"arisen

BOOK XVIII. "arisen between Old and New England," said the tribe of the Onondas to their deputies. "We will never take a part in contests of so atrocious a nature. A war between brothers is a thing new and unknown in these regions. Our traditions have not left us any instance of this kind. Extinguish your extravagant hatred; and may a more serene sky dispel the dark cloud that surrounds you."

THE Masphis alone seemed to interest themselves in the fate of the Americans. "Here are sixteen shillings for you," said these good savages. "It is all we are worth. We intended to buy some rum with it; but we will drink water. We will go to the chase; and if we should kill any animals, we will sell their skins, and bring you the money."

BUT in process of time, the very active emissaries of Great Britain succeeded in bringing over to her side several of the original nations. Her interests were preferred to those of her enemies, because the distance had not allowed her subjects to commit the same outrages against the savages as they had received from their proud neighbours; and because she was both able and inclined to pay more liberally for the services she might receive from them. Under her colours these allies, whose ferocious character knew no restraint, did infinitely more mischief to the colonists settled near the mountains, than such of their fellow-citizens who had the good fortune to be settled near the borders of the ocean received from the royal troops.

THESE calamities fell only upon a more or less considerable number of the Americans; but they were soon all of them afflicted with an internal misfortune.

THE metals, which cover the face of the whole globe, and represent all the objects of commerce, were never abundant in this part of the New World. The small quantity that was found there even disappeared at the first breaking out of hostilities. To these signs of universal convention were substituted others peculiar to these districts. Paper supplied the want of money. To give some kind of dignity to this new pledge, it was surrounded with emblems calculated to recall continually to the minds of the people the greatness of their enterprise, the inestimable value of liberty, and the necessity of a perseverance superior to all misfortunes. The artifice did not succeed; and these ideal riches were rejected. The more did necessity oblige them to be multiplied, the more did their discredit increase. The congress was offended with the insult done to their coin; and they declared traitors to their country all those who should not receive it as they would have received gold.

DID not the congress then know, that authority can no more be exerted over the mind than over opinion? Were they not sensible, that in the present crisis, every reasonable citizen would be apprehensive of risking his fortune? Did they not perceive, that at the origin of the republic, they indulged themselves in acts of despotism unknown in countries that are even formed to servitude? Could they conceal from themselves, that they punished a want of confidence with the same punishment which would scarce have been merited for revolt and treason? The congress perceived all this; but had no choice of means. Their contemptible and rejected paper was actually thirty times below it's original value, when they fabricated more of it. On the 13th September 1779, there was circulating among the public to the amount

BOOK XVIII. amount of 799,744,000 livres * of it. The state was then indebted 188,670,525 livres †, exclusive of the debts peculiar to each province.

THE people were not indemnified for a calamity which might be called domestic, by a free intercourse with all the other parts of the globe. Great Britain had intercepted their navigation with the West Indies, and with all the latitudes which were covered with their ships. They then declared to the world, "It is the English name which hath rendered us odious; we solemnly abjure it. All men are our brethren. We are the friends of every nation. All flags may appear upon our coasts, and frequent our ports without fear of insult." But this invitation, apparently so alluring, was not complied with. The states that were really commercial being apprized that North America had been obliged to contract debts, at the period even of it's greatest prosperity, judiciously imagined, that in it's present distress, it would be able to pay very little for what was brought to it. The French alone dared to brave the inconveniences of this new connection. But by the enlightened vigilance of Admiral Howe, most of the ships which they fitted out were taken before they arrived to the place of their destination, and the rest at their departure from the American shores. Of several hundred ships sent out from France, no more than twenty-five or thirty returned; and even these were of little or no benefit to their owners.

A NUMBER of privations, added to so many calamities, might have made the Americans regret their former tranquillity, and inclined them to a reconciliation with England. In vain were the people bound by the faith of oaths, and by the

influence of religion, to the new government. In vain had it been endeavoured to convince them of the impossibility of negotiating safely with a mother-country, in which one parliament could subvert what had been regulated by another. In vain had they been threatened with the eternal resentment of an affronted and vindictive enemy. It was possible that these distant apprehensions might not counterbalance the weight of the present calamities.

SUCH was the opinion of the British ministry, when they sent public agents into the New World, who were authorized to offer any terms short of independence, to those very Americans, from whom, two years before, an unlimited submission had been required. There is some probability, that this plan of conciliation might have been successful some months before. But at the period when the court of London sent to propose it, it was haughtily rejected, because this step appeared only to be the effect of fear and weakness. The people were already re-animated; the congress, the generals, the troops, the intelligent or bold, men who in every colony had assumed the authority, all, in a word, had recovered their former spirit. This was the effect of a treaty of friendship and commerce between the United States and the court of Versailles, which was signed on the 6th of February 1778.

HAD the English ministry reflected, they would have comprehended that the same delirium which caused them to attack their colonies, should have compelled them instantly to declare war against France. The circumspection which ought always to attend a new reign then prevailed in the councils of this crown. Their finances were then in that state of confusion, into which they had been plunged by twenty years perseverance in folly.

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XVIII.

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BOOK
XVIII.

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The ruined state of their navy then raised anxiety in the breast of every citizen. Spain, already harassed with her extravagant expedition against Algiers, was then surrounded with difficulties which would have prevented her from being able to assist her allies. England might, without rashness, have flattered herself with success against the most powerful of her enemies; and might have intimidated America, by victories obtained in its neighbourhood. The importance it was of to this crown, to deprive its rebellious subjects of the only support they were certain of, would have diminished the indignation excited by the violation of the most solemn treaties.

GEORGE III. saw nothing of all this. The clandestine succours which the court of Versailles used to send to the provinces in arms for the defence of their rights did not open his eyes. The dock-yards of this power were filled with ship-builders; its arsenals were stocking with artillery, and there remained no more room in its magazines for fresh naval stores. Its harbours presented the most menacing aspect; and yet this strange infatuation still continued. To rouse the court of St. James's from its lethargy, it was necessary that Lewis XVI. should cause it to be signified to them on the 14th March, that he had acknowledged the independence of the United States.

THIS declaration was a declaration of war. It was impossible that a nation, more accustomed to give than to take an affront, should patiently suffer that its subjects should be released from their oath of allegiance, and be raised with splendour to the rank of sovereign powers. All Europe foresaw that two nations which had been rivals for so many centuries, were going to stain with blood the waters of the ocean, and engage again

again in that terrible conflict in which public prosperity can never compensate private distress. BOOK XVIII.
 Those in whom ambition had not extinguished every sentiment of benevolence towards their fellow-creatures, previously deplored the calamities which were ready to fall upon the human race in both hemispheres.

THE bloody scene however was not yet begun, and this delay inspired some credulous persons with the hopes that peace would continue. It was not known that a fleet had sailed from Toulon with directions to attack the English in the North of America. It was not known, that there were orders sent from London to drive away the French out of the East Indies. Without being initiated in these mysteries of perfidy, which an insidious policy hath made to be considered as great strokes of state, men who were really enlightened, judged that hostilities were unavoidable, and even near at hand on our own ocean. This foreseen event was brought about by an engagement between two frigates on the 17th June 1778.

HERE our task becomes more and more difficult. Our sole aim is to be useful and true. Far from us be that spirit of party which fascinates and disgraces those who lead mankind, or who aspire to instruct them. Our wishes will be for our country, and we shall pay homage to justice. In whatever place, and under whatever form virtue shall present herself to us, we shall honour her. The distinction of society and of states cannot estrange us from her, and the just and magnanimous man will every where be our fellow-citizen. If in the different events which we review, we have the courage to blame what appears to us to deserve it, we do not seek the melancholy and idle satisfaction of dealing out indiscriminate

BOOK

XVIII.

minate censure. But we address ourselves to the nations and to posterity. It is our duty faithfully to transmit to them whatever may influence the public felicity. It is our duty to give them the history of the faults that are committed, in order that they may be instructed to avoid them. Should we dare to betray this noble duty, we should perhaps flatter the present generation, which is fleeting and passeth away; but justice and truth, which are eternal, would denounce us to future generations, which would read us with contempt, and would never pronounce our name without disdain. In this long career we have undertaken, we will be just to those who still exist, as we have been to those who are no more. If among men in power there be any who are offended with this liberty, we will not be afraid to say to them, that we are only the organs of a supreme tribunal, which is at length erected by reason upon an immovable foundation. Every government in Europe must henceforth dread it's decrees. The public opinion, which becomes more and more enlightened, and which is neither stopped nor intimidated by any thing, is perpetually attentive to nations and to courts. It penetrates into cabinets where policy is shut up; there it judges the depositaries of power, their passions, and their weakness, and by the empire of genius and knowledge raises itself above the governors of mankind, either to direct or to restrain them! Woe to those who either disdain this tribunal or set it at defiance! This apparent boldness arises only from instability. Woe to those whose talents are insufficient to bear it's examination! Let them do themselves justice, let them lay down a burden too heavy for their feeble hands. They will at least no longer compromise themselves and the States.

FRANCE

BOOK XVIII. accomplish by a power long prepared for hostilities, than to intercept the trading navy, entirely off it's guard, and attended with very feeble convoys. But this was neglected, and the immense riches which Great Britain expected from all parts of the globe, entered quietly into her harbours even without the least loss.

The trade of France, on the contrary, was harassed in both hemispheres, and intercepted every where. Her colonies beheld the subsistence which they were expecting, with all the anxiety of want, carried off from their own coasts, and the mother-country found itself deprived of fourscore or a hundred millions* almost within her own view. These misfortunes certainly arose from some cause which we will endeavour to investigate.

THE French navy had for a long time been unfortunate, and it's numerous calamities were attributed to the defect of it's constitution. Several attempts were made either to modify or to alter the regulations; but these innovations, whether good or bad, were always rejected with more or less visible disdain. At length the admirals dictated themselves in 1776, an ordinance, which, by making them absolute masters of the harbours, of the arsenals, of the docks, and of the magazines, destroyed that mutual superintendence which Lewis XIV. had thought proper to establish between the officers of the navy and those of administration. From this time there was no more order, no more responsibility, no more economy in the ports; every thing there fell into confusion and disorder.

The new plan had still a more fatal influence. Till that period the ministry had directed their

* From 3,333,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to 4,166,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

naval operations in a manner suitable to their political plans. This authority was transferred, without being perceived, perhaps to those who were to carry these operations into execution; and they imperceptibly acquired the tint of their prejudices, which led them to believe that it was not by heavy and laborious escorts of the ships of the nation, or by remaining for a length of time on difficult cruises, in order to surprise or destroy the vessels of the enemy, that a reputation was to be attained. This double duty was therefore either entirely neglected or very ill fulfilled on account of the general opinion prevailing at Brest, that such a service had nothing noble in it, and did not lead to any kind of glory.

It must be owned, that this prejudice is a very singular one, and entirely contrary to all the laws of society. What can have been the intention of the States in instituting this military force destined to traverse the seas? Was it only to procure rank to those who commanded or served in it? To give them an opportunity to exert a valour useless to any but themselves? To stain another element with blood, with carnage, and sea-fights? Certainly not. The warlike fleets are upon the ocean; what fortresses and ramparts are for the citizens of towns, and what national armies are for the provinces exposed to the ravages of the enemy? There are some kinds of property attached to a soil, others are created and transported by commerce, and are, as it were, wandering upon the ocean. These two species of property required defenders. Warriors, this is your duty. What should we say if the land-forces refused to protect the inhabitants of the cities, or the husbandmen of the field against the enemy, or to extinguish the conflagration which threatens the harvest. Officers of the navy, you

BOOK

XVIII.

think yourselves degraded in protecting and conveying the merchantmen. But if commerce be deprived of protectors, what will become of the riches of the State, part of which you undoubtedly expect as a reward for your services? What will become, for yourselves, of the revenues of your lands, which can only be made fruitful by trade and by the circulation of wealth? You think yourselves degraded. What? degraded in rendering yourselves useful to your fellow-citizens? What are then all the orders of the State, to whom government hath intrusted some portion of the public strength, but the protectors and the defenders of the citizen and his fortune? Your post is upon the seas, as that of the magistrate is upon the tribunals, that of the land officer and of the soldier in the camps, that of the monarch upon the throne, where he is only placed upon a more elevated situation, in order that his prospect may be extended to a greater distance, and that he may behold at one view all those who require his protection or his defence. You aspire to glory. Learn that glory is every where to be obtained by serving the State. The ancient Romans were likewise undoubtedly attached to glory, and yet the honour of having preserved one single citizen in Rome, was preferred to that of having destroyed a multitude of enemies. Do you not perceive, that in saving the trading ships you save the wealth of the State? Yes, your valour is brilliant, it is known to all Europe, as well as to your own country; but what is it to your fellow-citizens that it hath been displayed on a splendid occasion, that it hath taken one of the enemy's ships, or covered the waves of the ocean with wrecks and ruins; if you suffer all the vessels which conveyed the riches of your country, to be either taken or destroyed;

if

if in the very port to which you return victorious, a multitude of desolated families deplore the sub-
 version of their fortune? You will not hear the exclamations of victory on your arrival. All will be silent and plunged in consternation, and your exploits will serve no other purpose but to swell the accounts of the courts, and to fill those public papers, which, being invented to amuse idleness, give glory only for a day, when that glory is not engraved in the hearts of the citizens by the remembrance of some real service done to the country.

BOOK
XVIII.

THE maxims adopted at Portsmouth were very different. There the dignity of commerce was felt and respected. It was considered as a duty, as well as an honour to defend it, and events decided, which of the two navies had the properest ideas of their functions?

GREAT BRITAIN had just experienced some very humiliating adversities in the New World; and it was threatened with greater disasters by a still more powerful enemy in the Old one. This alarming situation filled the minds of all men with mistrust and uncertainty. The national riches came home safe, and their enormous mass was increased by those of the rival power; public credit was instantly revived, expectations were renewed, and this people, who with satisfaction were looked upon as overcome, recovered and sustained their usual pride.

ON the other hand, the French ports were filled with lamentations. A degrading and ruinous inactivity succeeded to that activity which gave them splendour and riches. The indignation of the merchants communicated itself to the whole nation. The first moments of success are the moments of intoxication, which seem either to conceal or to justify the faults committed. But

misfor-

BOOK
XVIII.

misfortune gives greater severity to opinion. The nation then attends more closely to those by whom they are governed, and demands from them, with arrogant freedom, an account of the power and authority that is intrusted to them. The councils of Lewis XVI. were accused of derogating from the majesty of the first power on the globe, by disavowing, in the face of the universe, the succour which they were incessantly sending clandestinely to the Americans. They were accused of having either by a ministerial intrigue, or by the influence of some obscure agents, engaged the State in a ruinous war, at a time when they ought to have been employed in repairing the springs of government, in remedying the tedious disorders of a reign, the latter half of which had been mean, feeble, divided between depredations and shame, between the baseness of vice and the convulsions of despotism. They were accused of having provoked a rupture by an insidious policy, to have enveloped their meaning in speeches unworthy of France, and to have employed, with regard to England, the language of a timorous boldness, which seemed to deny the projects that were formed, and the sentiments they had in their hearts; a language which can only degrade the person who makes use of it, without being able to deceive him to whom it is addressed; and which dishonours, while the dishonour it brings along with it can neither be useful to the ministry nor to the state. How much more noble would it have been to have said with all the frankness of dignity: "Englishmen, you have abused your victory. This is the moment to be just, or else it will be that of revenge. Europe is tired of bearing with tyrants. She at length resumes her rights. Henceforth choose either equality or war."

“war.” It is thus that Richelieu would have B O O K
spoken; that Richelieu, whom every citizen XVIII.
ought indeed to detest, because he was a sanguinary assassin, and that in order to become a despot, he put all his enemies to death with the ax of the executioner; but the nation and the state must revere him as a minister, because he was the first who apprized France of her dignity, and ascribed to her, in Europe the rank which belonged to her power. It is thus that Lewis XIV. would have spoken to them, who during forty years shewed himself worthy of the age he lived in, whose very faults were always mixed with grandeur, and who even, in a state of dejection and misfortune, never degraded himself or his people. A great character is required to govern a great nation. More especially, there must be none of those spirits that are cold and indifferent from levity, for whom absolute authority is no more than an amusement, who leave great interests to the effects of chance, and who are more employed in preserving power than in making use of it. It is further asked, why men, who had all the power of the state in their hands, and who had only to command in order to be obeyed, have suffered themselves to be forestalled in all the seas by an enemy whose constitution necessarily produces delays? Why did they put themselves, by an inconsiderate treaty, into the shackles of congress, which might itself have been kept dependent by plentiful and regular subsidies? Lastly, why did not they secure the revolution, by keeping constantly upon the Northern coasts of the New World a squadron to protect the colonies, and at the same time to make our alliance be respected. But Europe, whose eyes are fixed upon us, beholds a great design, and no concerted measures; it beholds in our arsenals and

BOOK and in our ports immense preparations and no
 XVIII. execution; it beholds formidable fleets and this
 equipment rendered almost useless; it beholds
 boldness and valour in individuals, effeminacy
 and irresolution in commanders; every thing
 which announces on one hand the awful power
 of a great people, and on the other, every thing
 which announces the weakness and delay which
 arise from character and from the nature of the
 views.

It is by this striking contrast between our pro-
 jects and our measures, between our means and
 the spirit which animates them, that the Eng-
 lish genius astonished for a moment, hath reco-
 vered it's vigour; and it is a problem which Eu-
 rope cannot solve, whether, in declaring for Ame-
 rica, we have not ourselves raised the strength of
 England.

SUCH are the complaints which are heard on
 all sides, and which we are not afraid of collecting
 here, and of laying before the eyes of authority,
 if it should deign to listen to or to read them.

LASTLY, philosophy, whose first sentiment is
 the desire of seeing all governments equitable, and
 all people happy, in examining this alliance of a
 monarchy with a people who defend their liberty,
 endeavours to discover the motive of it. It per-
 ceives too clearly that the happiness of mankind
 hath no concern in it. It imagines, that if the
 court of Versailles had been determined by the
 love of justice, they would have mentioned in
 the first article of the convention with America,
*that all people who are oppressed have a right to rise
 against their oppressors.* But this maxim, which
 constitutes one of the laws of England, which a
 king of Hungary, upon ascending the throne, ven-
 tured to make one of the constituent principles
 of the state, and which Trajan, one of the greatest
 princes

princes who ever ruled over the earth, adopted, BOOK XVIII.
 when in presence of the Roman people assembled, he said to the first officer of the empire: *I give you up my sword to defend me while I shall be just, and to fight against me and to punish me if I should become a tyrant.* This maxim is too foreign to our feeble and corrupt governments, where it is the duty of the people to suffer, and where the oppressed man should be apprehensive of feeling his misfortune, for fear he should be punished for it as a crime.

BUT it is particularly against Spain that the most bitter complaints are directed. She is censured for her blindness, her irresolutions, her delays, sometimes even for her want of fidelity; but all these accusations are groundless.

SOME politicians imagined, when they beheld France engaging without necessity in a naval war, that this crown thought itself sufficiently powerful to separate the dominion of Great Britain, without sharing with an ally the honour of this important revolution. We will not examine whether the spirit which prevailed in the cabinet of Versailles authorized this conjecture. It is now known, that this crown, which since the beginning of the troubles had given secret assistance to the Americans, watched the propitious moment for declaring openly in their favour. The event of Saratoga appeared to furnish the most favourable opportunity to propose to his Catholic Majesty to join in the common cause. Whether this prince then thought that the liberty of the United States was contrary to his interests; whether the resolution appeared to him to be precipitate, or whether, in a word, other political objects required his whole attention, he refused to accede to this proposal. His character prevented any further solicitations. Since those first attempts

B O O K attempts he was so little troubled about this great
XVIII. affair, that it was without giving him any previous notice, that the court of Versailles caused it to be signified to that of St. James's, that they had acknowledged the independence of the confederate provinces.

In the mean while the land and sea-forces which Spain had employed in the Brazils against the Portuguese were returned. The rich fleet she expected from Mexico had entered into her ports. The treasures which were coming to her from Peru and from her other possessions were in safety. This power was free from any anxiety and mistress of her own operations, when she aspired to the glory of introducing peace into both hemispheres. Her mediation was accepted, both by France, whose boldness had not been followed by those happy consequences she had expected from it, and by England, who might be apprehensive of having a new adversary to contend with.

Spain not having succeeded in conciliating England with France, declares for the latter of these powers.

CHARLES III. supported with dignity the magnanimous part he had undertaken. He declared that arms should be laid aside; that each of the belligerent powers should be maintained in the possessions they might occupy at the period of the convention; that a Congress should be formed, in which the several pretensions should be discussed; and that no new attack should be commenced without the previous notice of a twelve-month.

This monarch was aware that this arrangement would give to Great Britain the felicity of reconciliation with her colonies, or at least would make them purchase by great advantages for her trade the sacrifice of the ports which she occupied in the midst of them. Nor was he ignorant of his offending the dignity of the king his nephew, who

who had engaged to maintain the United States BOOK
 in the entire possession of their territories. But XVIII.
 he would be just; and without setting aside all
 personal considerations it is impossible to be so.

THIS plan of conciliation was displeasing to the court of Versailles, and the only hope they had was, that it would be rejected at London, as indeed it was. England could not resolve to acknowledge the Americans *ipso facto* independent, although they were not invited to the conferences that were going to be opened; although France was not allowed to negotiate for them; although their interests were only to be supported by a mediator, who was not attached to them by any treaty, and who, perhaps, in secret, did not wish them to prosper, and although her refusal threatened her with an additional enemy.

IT is in such a situation, when pride elevates the soul above the suggestions of fear, that nothing appears formidable, except the shame of receiving the law; and that there is no hesitation in choosing between ruin and dishonour: it is then that the greatness of a nation displays itself. I acknowledge, however, that men, accustomed to judge of the event, consider great and perilous revolutions as acts of heroism or of folly, according to the good or ill success that hath attended them. If, therefore, I should be asked, what name will be given a few years hence to the firmness which the English shewed on this occasion; I shall answer, that I know not: as to that which they deserve I know very well. I know that the annals of the world rarely present to us the august and majestic spectacle, of a nation which prefers the giving up of it's duration to the loss of it's glory.

No sooner had the British ministry explained themselves, than the court of Madrid took the
part

BOOK
XVIII.

part of that of Versailles, and consequently that of the Americans, in the contest. Spain had then sixty-three vessels of the line, and six more upon the stocks. France had fourscore and eight upon the docks. The United States had but twelve frigates, but a great number of privateers.

To so many forces united, England had only ninety-five ships of the line to oppose, and three and twenty upon the stocks. The other sixteen which were seen in her ports were unfit for service, and they had been converted to the purpose of ships for receiving prisoners, or into hospital ships. Thus inferior in the instruments of war, this power was still more so in the means of employing them upon service. Her domestic dissensions contributed still more to render ineffectual the resources she had remaining. It is the nature of governments that are truly free, to be agitated in times of peace. It is by these intestine commotions that the minds of men preserve their energy, and the perpetual remembrance of the rights of the nation. But in time of war it is necessary that every ferment should cease; that hatred should be extinguished, and that interests should be blended, and made subservient to each other. It happened quite otherwise in the British islands; for the disturbances in them had never been more violent. Opposite claims were never supported on any occasion with less moderation. The general good was insolently disregarded by all factions. Those houses, in which the most important questions had formerly been discussed, with eloquence, strength, and dignity, resounded only with the clamours of rage, gross insults, and altercations as prejudicial as they were indecent. The few persons who might be called citizens loudly exclaimed for a new Pitt, a minister, who like him had *neither relations nor friends*; but this

extra-

BOOK
XVIII.

ence? Will it be long before these nations, whether they act separately or in concert, reciprocally accuse, complain, and are at variance with each other? Will not their greatest hope be, that repeated strokes of adversity would only at most plunge them again into the humiliating state from whence they wished to emerge, and confirm the dominion of the seas to Great Britain; while one or two considerable defeats would for ever remove this ambitious people from the rank of the first power of this hemisphere?

Who can therefore decide; who can even foresee what will be the event? France and Spain united have the most powerful means in their favour; England hath the art of managing her own: France and Spain have their treasures, England hath a great national credit. On one hand are the multitude of men, and the number of troops; on the other, the superiority in the art of conducting ships, and of subduing the sea in engagements. Here there is impetuosity and valour; there valour and experience. On one hand, the activity which absolute monarchy may give to the measures; on the other, the vigour and the energy of liberty. One party is stimulated by resentment for losses, and by a long-continued series of outrages they have to avenge; the other, by the recollection of a recent glory, and by their having the sovereignty of America, as well as that of the ocean, to preserve. The two allied nations have the advantage which is derived from the union of two immense powers; but at the same time the inconvenience which results from this very union, by the difficulty even of preserving harmony and concord, either in the plans or in the disposal of their forces. England is abandoned to herself; but having nothing but her own forces to direct, she hath the advantage of

of unity in her designs; of a more certain, and perhaps more speedy combination of ideas. She can with greater facility regulate at one view her plans of attack and defence. BOOK XVIII.

In order to have an exact idea of things, one ought also to examine the different energy which may be communicated to the rival nations by a war, which on one side is no more in several respects than a war of kings and ministers; and on the other, a really national war, in which the greatest interests of England are concerned, a commerce, which constitutes her riches; an empire, and a glory, which compose her greatness.

FINALLY, if we consider the spirit of the French nation, in contrast with that of the nation she is at war with, it will be found that the ardour of the French is perhaps equally ready to be excited and to be extinguished; that their hopes are very sanguine at the beginning, and that they despair of every thing as soon as they are stopped by any obstacle; that by their character they require the enthusiasm of success, in order to obtain fresh advantages. The English, on the contrary, less presumptuous at first, notwithstanding their natural boldness, know how to struggle courageously, to be elevated in proportion to the increase of danger, and to acquire steadiness by disgrace: like the sturdy oak, to which Horace compares the Romans, which, though cut by the ax, and mutilated by iron, revives under the strokes which it receives, and acquires new vigour even from it's wounds.

HISTORY informs us, moreover, that few leagues have ever divided the spoils of the nation against which they had been formed. Athens triumphant over Persia; Rome saved from Annibal; in modern times, Venice preserved from the famous league of Cambray; and even in our days,

BOOK days, Prussia, which by the genius of one single
 XVIII. man hath held out against all Europe; all these
 examples authorize us to suspend our judgment
 respecting the issue of the present war.

What ought to be the policy of the house of Bourbon, should it be victorious.
 BUT, let us suppose that the house of Bourbon shall have obtained all the advantages they may flatter themselves with, what conduct ought they to pursue?

FRANCE is, in every point of view, the empire the most strongly constituted of any one the remembrance of which is preserved in the annals of the world. Spain, though not to be compared with her, is likewise a state of great weight, and her means of prosperity are increasing daily. The principal care of the house of Bourbon, then, should be, to induce their neighbours to overlook the advantages which they derive from nature or from art, or which they have acquired by events. If they should endeavour to increase their superiority, the alarm would become general, and people would think themselves threatened with universal slavery. It is, perhaps, rather extraordinary, that the nations have not thwarted her projects against England. This supineness must have been occasioned by the resentment which the injustices and the haughtiness of that superb island have excited in all parts. But hatred is suspended when interest is concerned. It is possible, Europe may judge the weakening of Great Britain in the New and in the Old Hemisphere to be contrary to her own security; and that, after having enjoyed the spectacle of the humiliations and the dangers of that proud and tyrannical power, she may at length take up arms in her defence. Should this happen, the courts of Versailles and Madrid would find themselves disappointed in the hopes which they had conceived, of acquiring a decided preponderance

ponderance upon the globe: These considerations should determine them to urge on the attacks, and not to leave time to a provident, or perhaps only a jealous policy, to make fresh plans. Let them especially stop in time, and let not an immoderate desire of lowering their common enemy blind them with regard to their true interests.

THE United States have openly discovered the project of drawing all North America into their confederation. Several steps, and particularly that of soliciting Canada to rebellion, must have induced an opinion, that it was likewise the desire of France. Spain may be suspected of having equally adopted this idea.

THE conduct of the provinces which have shaken off the yoke of Great Britain is simple, and such as one would expect. But would not their allies be deficient in foresight, if they had really the same system? The New Hemisphere must one day be detached from the Old. This great evulsion is prepared in Europe, by the ferment and by the clash of opinions; by the overthrow of our rights, which constituted our courage; by the luxury of our courts, and the misery of our country places; by the everlasting hatred there is between effeminate men who possess every thing, and robust, and even virtuous men, who have nothing to lose but their lives. It is prepared in America, by the increase of population, of cultures, of industry, and of knowledge. Every thing is tending towards this separation, both the progress of evil in one world, and the progress of good in another.

BUT can it be suitable to France and Spain, whose possessions in the New Hemisphere are an inexhaustible source of wealth, can it be suitable to them to hasten this division? Yet this is what

BOOK XVIII. would happen, if the whole northern part of those regions were subject to the same laws, or connected by one common interest.

SCARCE would the liberty of this vast continent be confirmed, than it would become the asylum of all the intriguing, seditious, branded, or ruined men, who are seen amongst us. - Neither agriculture, the arts, nor commerce, would be the resource of refugees of this character. A less laborious, and more turbulent life, would be necessary for them. - This turn of mind, equally averse from labour and rest, would be disposed to conquests; and a passion which is so seducing would readily subdue the first colonists, diverted from their ancient labours by a long war. The new people would have finished their preparations for invasion before the report of them could have reached our climates. They would chuse their enemies, their field of battle, and the moment of victory. Their attacks would always fall upon defenceless seas, or upon coasts taken by surprise. In a short time the southern provinces would become the prey of the northern ones, and would compensate, by the richness of their productions, for the mediocrity of those of the latter. Perhaps even the possessions of our absolute monarchies would endeavour to enter into the confederation of free people, or would detach themselves from Europe, to belong only to themselves.

THE measures which the courts of Madrid and Versailles ought to pursue, if they are at liberty to chuse, is to leave subsisting in the northern part of America, two powers which shall watch over, restrain, and balance each other. Then ages will elapse before England, and the republics formed at her expence, will be united. This reciprocal mistrust will prevent them from under-
taking

taking any thing at a distance ; and the establishment of other nations in the New World will enjoy that state of tranquillity which hitherto hath been so much disturbed. B O O K
XVIII.

It is even probable, that this order of things would be most suitable to the confederate provinces. Their respective limits have not been regulated. A great jealousy prevails between the countries of the North and those of the South. Political principles vary from one river to another. Great animosities are observed to subsist between the citizens of a town, and the members of a family. Each of them will be desirous of, removing from themselves the oppressive burden of the public expences and debts. An infinite number of seeds of division are universally brooding in the heart of the United States. When once all dangers were removed; how would it be possible to prevent the breaking out of so many discontents? How would it be possible to keep attached to the same center, so many deluded and exasperated minds? Let the real friends of America reflect upon this, and they will find, that the only way to prevent disturbances among the people, would be to leave upon their frontiers a powerful rival, always disposed to avail itself of their dissensions.

PEACE and security are necessary for monarchies; agitation, and a formidable enemy for republics. Rome stood in need of Carthage; and he who destroyed the liberty of the Romans was neither Scylla nor Cæsar; it was the first Cato, when his narrow and stern system of politics deprived Rome of a rival, by kindling in the senate those flames which reduced Carthage to ashes. Venice herself perhaps would have lost her government, and her laws, four hundred years ago, if she had not had at her gates, and

BOOK XVIII. **B**almost 'under 'her walls, powerful 'neighbours, who might become her enemies or her masters.

What idea must be formed of the thirteen confederated provinces.

BUT according to this system, to what degree of felicity, splendour, and strength, can the confederate provinces attain in process of time?

IN this place, to form a proper judgment, let us begin by setting aside that interest which all men, slaves not excepted, have taken in the generous efforts of a nation, which exposed itself to all calamities in order to be free. The name of liberty is so alluring, that all those who fight for it are sure of obtaining our secret wishes in their favour. Their cause is that of the whole human race, and becomes our own. We avenge ourselves of our oppressors, by venting at least freely our hatred against foreign oppressors. At the noise of these chains that are breaking, it seems to us that our's are going to become lighter; and for a few moments we think we breathe a purer air, when we learn that the universe reckons some tyrants less. Besides, these great revolutions of liberty are lessons to despots. They warn them not to reckon upon too long a continuance of the people's patience, and upon eternal impunity. So, where society and the laws avenge themselves of the crimes of individuals, the good man hopes that the punishment of the guilty may prevent the commission of fresh crimes. Terror sometimes supplies the place of justice with regard to the robber, and of conscience with regard to the assassin. Such is the source of the great concern we take in every war for liberty. Such hath been that with which the Americans have inspired us. Our imaginations have been heated in their favour. We have taken a part in their victories and their defeats. The spirit of justice, which delights in compensating former calamities by future happiness, is pleased with the idea, that this

this part of the New World cannot fail to become BOOK
XVIII.
 one of the most flourishing countries on the globe. It is even supposed, that Europe may one day find her masters in her children. Let us venture to resist the torrent of opinion, and that of public enthusiasm. Let us not suffer ourselves to be misled by imagination, which embellishes every thing; and by sentiment, which delights in forming illusions, and which realizes every hope. It is our duty to combat all prejudices, even those which are most consonant to the wishes of our hearts. Above all things, it behoves us to be true, and not to betray that pure and upright conscience which presides over our writings, and dictates our judgments. At this moment, perhaps, we shall not be believed; but a bold conjecture, which is confirmed at the end of several centuries, does more honour to the historian, than a long series of facts, the truth of which cannot be contested: and I do not write for my cotemporaries alone, who will only survive me a small number of years. When a few more revolutions of the sun are passed, both they and I shall be no more. But I deliver up my ideas to posterity, and to time. It is their's to judge me.

THE space occupied by the thirteen republics, between the mountains and the sea, is no more than sixty-seven sea leagues; but their extent upon the coast, in a direct line, is three hundred and forty-five, from the river of Sancta Crux to that of Savannah.

THE lands in that region are almost generally bad, or at least indifferent.

SCARCE any thing but maize grows in the four most northern colonies. The only resource of the inhabitants is fishing, the annual produce of which doth not amount to more than 6,000,000. of livres*.

BOOK
XVIII.

CORN is the principal support of the provinces of New York, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania. But the soil hath degenerated so rapidly, that an acre, which formerly yielded sixty bushels of wheat, very seldom produces even twenty at present.

THOUGH the lands of Maryland and of Virginia be much superior to all the rest, yet they cannot be deemed extremely fertile. The ancient plantations yield no more than one third of the tobacco which was formerly gathered. It is not possible to make any new ones; and the planters have been reduced to the necessity of turning their labours towards other objects.

NORTH CAROLINA produces some grain, but of so inferior a quality as to be sold in all markets twenty-five or thirty per cent. cheaper than the others.

THE soil of South Carolina and of Georgia is perfectly even, as far as fifty miles from the ocean. The excessive rains which fall there not finding any outlet, form numerous morasses, where rice is cultivated to the great detriment of the freemen and of the slaves employed in this culture. In the intervening spaces between these large bodies of water so frequently met with, an inferior kind of indigo grows, which must be transplanted every year. In the elevated part of the country nothing is to be found except barren sands and frightful rocks, intersected at great distances by pasture grounds of the nature of rushes.

THE English government, convinced that North America would never enrich them by its natural productions, employed the powerful incentive of gratuities in order to produce in that part of the New World, flax, vines, and silk. The poverty of the soil disconcerted the first of these views; the defect of the climate prevented the success of the second, and the want of hands did not

not permit the third to be pursued. The society ^{BOOK} established in London for the encouragement of ^{XVIII.} arts was not more fortunate than administration. Their benefactions did not bring forth any of the objects which they had proposed to the activity and industry of those countries.

GREAT BRITAIN was obliged to be contented with selling every year to the countries we are speaking of, to the amount of about 50,000,000 livres* of merchandise. Those by whom they were consumed delivered to her exclusively, their indigoes, their iron, their tobacco, and their peltries. They also delivered to her all the money and rough materials which they had received from the rest of the globe in exchange for their grain, their fish, their rice, and their salt provisions.

THE balance however was always so unfavourable to them that at the beginning of the troubles the colonies were indebted one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and thirty millions of livres† to the mother-country, and they had no specie in circulation.

NOTWITHSTANDING these disadvantages, there had been successively formed in the midst of the thirteen provinces, a population of two millions nine hundred eighty-one thousand six hundred and seventy-eight persons, including four hundred thousand Negroes. New inhabitants were constantly driven there by oppression and intolerance. The unfortunate have been deprived of this refuge by war; but peace will restore it to them again; and they will resort there in greater numbers than ever. Those who shall go there with plans of cultivation, will not have all the satisfaction they may expect, because they will find all the good, and even the indifferent lands

* 2,083,333l. 6s. 8d.

† From 5,000,000l. to 5,416,666l. 13s. 4d.

B O O K occupied, and that scarce any thing remainsto
XVIII. offer them, except barren lands; unwholesome
 morasses, or steep mountains. The emigrations
 will be more favourable to manufacturers and to
 artists, though perhaps they will gain nothing by
 changing their country and their climates. It
 cannot be determined without rashness, what
 will one day be the population of the United
 States. This calculation, generally very difficult,
 becomes impracticable in a region where the
 lands degenerate very rapidly, and where repro-
 duction is not in proportion to the labours and
 expences bestowed upon them. It will be a con-
 siderable thing, if ten millions of men can ever
 find a certain subsistence in these provinces, and
 even then the exports will be reduced to little or
 nothing: but internal industry will supply the
 place of foreign industry. The country will
 nearly be able to supply it's own wants, provided
 the inhabitants know how to be happy by econo-
 my, and in mediocrity.

PEOPLE of North America, let the example of
 all the nations which have preceded you, and espe-
 cially that of the mother-country, serve as a lesson
 to you. Dread the influence of gold, which, with
 luxury, introduces corruption of manners and
 contempt of the laws. Dread too unequal a re-
 partition of riches, which indicates a small num-
 ber of wealthy citizens, and a multitude of citi-
 zens plunged in misery; from whence arises the
 insolence of the former and the degradation of the
 latter. Keep yourselves free from the spirit of
 conquest. The tranquillity of an empire dimi-
 nishes in proportion as it extends itself. Have
 arms to defend yourselves, but not to attack.
 Search for affluence and health in labour; for
 prosperity in the cultivation of the lands, and in
 the manufactures of industry, for strength in good
 manners

manners and in virtue. Encourage the prosperity of the arts and sciences, which distinguish the civilized man from the savage. Attend, above all things, to the education of your children. Be convinced, that from public schools come, forth enlightened magistrates, valiant and well-informed officers, good fathers; good husbands, good brothers, good friends, and honest men. Wherever depravity of manners is observed among the youth, the nation is upon its decline. Let liberty have a firm and unalterable basis in the wisdom of your constitutions, and let it be the everlasting cement which connects your provinces together. Establish no legal preference between the modes of divine worship. Superstition is every where innocent; where it is neither protected nor persecuted; and may your duration, if possible, be long as that of the world!

MAY this wish be accomplished, and console the present expiring race with the hopes that a better will succeed to it! But waving the consideration of future times, let us take a view of the result of three memorable ages. Having seen in the beginning of this work the state of misery and ignorance in which Europe was plunged in the infancy of America, let us examine to what state the conquest of the New World hath led and advanced those that made it. This was the design of a book undertaken with the hopes of being useful; if the end be answered the author will have discharged his duty to the age he lives in: and to society.

B O O K XIX.

BOOK
XIX.

WE are advancing in a career, upon which we should not have entered without knowing the extent and the difficulties of it, and which we should several times have quitted, had we not been supported by motives, which always make us forget the disproportion between our powers and the experiment. In the event of a conflagration we sometimes attempt and accomplish things which would depress our courage were it not stimulated by the danger, and which astonish it when the danger is over. After a battle either won or lost, a military man said at the sight of a mountain which he had climbed up in order to reach the enemy: Who would ever have done that, if there had not been a musket shot to receive? I was certainly animated with the same sentiment when I began this work, and it must undoubtedly animate me still since I continue.

We have first described the state of Europe before the discovery of the East and West Indies.

AFTER this we have pursued the uncertain, tyrannical, and sanguinary progress of the settlements formed in these distant regions.

IT now remains to unfold the influence which the intercourse established with the New World has had upon the opinions, government, industry, arts, manners, and happiness of the Old. Let us begin by religion.

Had man uninterruptedly enjoyed complete felicity; had the earth sanctified of itself all the variety of his wants, it may be presumed that much time would have elapsed before the sentiment

ment of admiration and gratitude would have turned towards the Gods, the attention of that being naturally ungrateful. But a barren soil did not answer to his labours. The torrents ravaged the fields which he had cultivated. A burning sky destroyed his harvests. He experienced famine, he became acquainted with disease, and he endeavoured to find out the cause of his misery.

BOOK
XIX.

To explain the mystery of his existence, of his happiness, and of his misfortune, he invented different systems equally absurd. He peopled the universe with good and evil spirits; and such was the origin of Polytheism, the most ancient and the most universal of all religions. From Polytheism arose Manicheism, the vestiges of which will last perpetually, whatever may be the progress of reason. Manicheism simplified, engendered deism, and in the midst of this diversity of opinions there arose a class of men mediators between Heaven and earth.

THEN the regions of the earth were covered with altars; in one place the hymn of joy resounded, while in another were heard the complaints of pain; then recourse was had to prayer and to sacrifice, the two natural modes of obtaining favour and of deprecating anger. The harvest was offered up; the lamb, the goat, and the bull, were slain, and the holy sod was even stained with the blood of man.

IN the meanwhile the good man was often seen in adversity, while the wicked, and even the impious man prospered, and then the doctrine of immortality was suggested. The souls freed from the body, either circulated among the different beings of nature, or went into another world to receive the reward of their virtues or the punishment of their crimes. But it is a problematical

BOOK

XIX

kinatical circumstance, whether man became better on this account. It is certain, however, that from the instant of his birth to that of his death, he was tormented with the fear of invisible powers, and reduced to a much more wretched state than that which he had before enjoyed.

Most legislators have availed themselves of this propensity of the mind, to govern the people and still more to enslave them. Some have asserted, that they held from Heaven the right of commanding, and thus was theocracy or sacred despotism established, the most cruel and the most immoral of all legislations, that in which man, proud, malevolent, interested and vicious with impunity, commands man from God, that in which there is nothing just or unjust, but what is either agreeable or displeasing to him, or that supreme Being with whom he communicates, and whom he causes to speak according to his passions, in which it is a crime to examine his orders, and impiety to oppose them, in which contradictory revolutions are substituted to reason and conscience, which are reduced to silence by prodigies or by enormous crimes, in which the nations, in a word, cannot have any ideas concerning the rights of men, respecting what is good and what is evil, because they search for the foundation of their privileges and of their duties, only in sacred writings the interpretation of which is denied to them.

If this kind of government had a more sublime origin in Palestine, still it was not more exempt than any where else from the calamities which necessarily arise from it.

CHRISTIANITY succeeded the Jewish institution. The subjection that Rome, mistress of the world, was under to the most savage tyrants, the dreadful miseries, which the luxury of a court and
the

the maintenance of armies had occasioned through-
 out this vast empire under the reigns of the Neros; BOOK
XIX.
 the successive irruptions of the barbarians, who
 dismembered this great body; the loss of pro-
 vinces either by revolt or invasion; all these na-
 tural evils had already prepared the minds of men
 for a new religion, and the changes in politics
 must necessarily have induced an innovation in the
 form of worship. In paganism, which had exist-
 ed for so many ages, there remained only the
 fables to which it owed it's origin, the folly or the
 vices of it's gods, the avarice of it's priests, and
 the infamy and licentious conduct of the kings
 who supported them. Then the people, despairing
 to obtain relief from their tyrants upon earth, had
 recourse to Heaven for protection.

CHRISTIANITY appeared, and afforded them
 comfort, at the same time that it taught them to
 suffer with patience. While the tyranny and
 licentiousness of princes tended to the destruction
 of paganism as well as to that of the empire, the
 subjects, who had been oppressed and spoiled, and
 who had embraced the new doctrines, were com-
 pleting it's ruin by the examples they gave of those
 virtues, which always accompany the zeal of new-
 made proselytes. But a religion that arose in the
 midst of public calamity, must necessarily give it's
 preachers a considerable influence over the un-
 happy persons who took refuge in it. Thus the
 power of the clergy commenced, as it were, with
 the gospel.

FROM the remains of pagan superstitions and
 philosophic sects, a code of rights and tenets was
 formed, which the simplicity of the primitive
 christians sanctified with real and affecting piety;
 but which at the same time left the seeds of de-
 bates and controversies, from whence arose a va-
 riety of passions disguised under, and dignified with,
 the

BOOK

XII

IN the mean while, the desire, on one hand, of preserving the pontifical authority, and the wish of destroying it on the other, have produced two opposite systems. The Catholic divines have undertaken, and even successfully, to prove that the holy books are not of themselves the touchstone of orthodoxy. They have demonstrated, that since the first preaching of the gospel to our times, the scriptures, differently understood, had given rise to the most opposite, the most extravagant, and the most impious opinions, and that with this divine word, the most contradictory tenets may have been maintained, as long as inward sentiment hath been the only interpreter of the revelation.

THE writers of the reformed religion have shewn the absurdity of believing, that one man alone was constantly inspired from heaven, upon a throne, or in a chair, in which the most monstrous vices have been committed, where dissolution was seated by the side of inspiration, where adultery and concubinage profaned the idols who were invested with the character and with the name of sanctity, where the spirit of falsehood and of artifice dictated the pretended oracles of truth. They have demonstrated, that the church, assembled in council, and composed of intriguing prelates, under the emperors of the primitive church, of ignorant and debauched ones, in the times of barbarism and of ambition, and of ostentatious ones in the ages of schism, that such a church could not be more enlightened by supernatural inspiration, than the vicar of Jesus himself, that the spirit of God did not more visibly communicate itself to two hundred fathers of the council, than to the holy father himself, who was often the most profligate of men, that Germans, and Spaniards, without learning, French,

French, without morals, and Italians, without any virtue, were not so well qualified for the spirit of revolution, as a simple flock of peasants, who sincerely seek after God by prayer and by labour. In a word, if they have not been able to support their new system in the eyes of reason, they have at least entirely destroyed that of the ancient church.

IN the midst of these ruins, philosophy hath arisen, and said: If the text of the scripture be not sufficiently clear, precise, and authentic, to be the sole and infallible rule of doctrine and of worship: If the tradition of the church, from it's first institution to the times of Luther and Calvin, hath been corrupted with the manners of priests, and of it's followers; if the councils have doubted, varied, and decided contradictorily in their assemblies; if it be unworthy of the Divinity to communicate it's spirit and it's word to one single man; debauched in his youth, reduced to imbecility in his old age; subject, in a word, to the passions, the errors, and the infirmities of man: then, say they, there is no firm and stable support for the infallibility of the Christian faith; consequently, that religion is not of divine institution, and God hath not intended that it should be eternal.

THIS dilemma is very embarrassing. As long as the sense of the scriptures shall remain open to the contests it hath ever experienced, and that tradition shall be as problematical as it hath appeared to be, from the immense labours of the clergy of different communions, Christianity can have no support but from the civil authority, and the power of the magistrate. The proper force of religion, which subdues the mind, and restrains the conscience by conviction, will be wanting to it.

B O O K ACCORDINGLY, these disputes have gradually
XIX. led the nations, which had shaken off the yoke of an authority, considered 'till then as infallible; farther than it had been foreseen. They have almost generally rejected, from the ancient mode of worship, what was contrary to their reason; and have only preserved a Christianity disengaged from all mysteries. Revolution itself hath been abandoned in these regions, though at a later period, by some men more bold; or who thought themselves more enlightened than the multitude. A manner of thinking, so proud and independent, hath extended itself, in process of time, to those states which had remained subject to Rome. As in these countries knowledge had made less progress, and opinions had been more confined, licentiousness in them hath been carried to it's utmost extent. Atheism, the system either of a discontented and gloomy spirit which sees nothing but confusion in nature, or of a wicked man who dreads future vengeance; or of a set of philosophers neither gloomy nor wicked, who vainly imagine they find in the properties of eternal matter, a sufficient cause for all the phenomena which excite our admiration.

By an impulse founded on the nature of religions themselves, Catholicism tends incessantly to Protestantism, Protestantism to Socinianism, Socinianism to Deism, and Deism to Scepticism. Incredulity is become too general, to allow us to hope, with any degree of foundation, that the ancient tenets can regain the ascendant which they enjoyed during so many centuries. Let them be always freely followed, by such of their sectators who are attached to them from conscience; by all those who find matter of consolation in them, and by all whom they incite to perform the duties of a citizen: but, let all sects, the principles

principles of which are not contrary to public order, find in general the same indulgence. It would be consistent with the dignity, as well as with the wisdom of all governments, to have the same moral code of religion, from which it should not be allowed to deviate, and to give the rest up to discussions, in which the tranquillity of the world was not concerned. This would be the surest way of extinguishing, insensibly, the fanaticism of the clergy, and the enthusiasm of the people.

It is partly to the discovery of the New World that we shall owe that religious toleration which ought to be, and certainly will be, introduced in the Old. Persecution would only hasten the downfall of the religions that are now established. Industry and the means of information have now prevailed among the nations, and gained an influence that must restore a certain equilibrium in the moral and civil order of society: the human mind is undeceived with regard to its former superstitions. If we do not avail ourselves of the present time to re-establish the empire of reason; it must necessarily be given up to new superstitions.

EVERY thing has concurred, for these two last centuries, to extinguish that furious zeal which ravaged the globe. The depredations of the Spaniards throughout America, have shewn the world to what excess fanaticism may be carried. In establishing their religion by fire and sword through exhausted and depopulated countries, they have rendered it odious in Europe; and their cruelties have contributed to separate a greater number of Catholics from the church of Rome, than they have gained converts to Christianity among the Indians. The concourse of persons of all sects in North-America has necessarily diffused

BOOK XIX. the spirit of toleration into distant countries, and put a stop to religious wars in our climates. The sending of missionaries has delivered us from those turbulent men, who might have inflamed our country, and who are gone to carry the firebrands and swords of the gospel beyond the seas. Navigation and long voyages have insensibly detached a great number of the people from the absurd ideas which superstition inspires. The variety of religious worship, and the difference of nations, has accustomed the most vulgar minds to a sort of indifference for the object that had the greatest influence over their imaginations. Trade carried on between persons of the most opposite sects, has lessened that religious hatred which was the cause of their divisions. It has been found that morality and integrity were not inconsistent with any opinions whatever, and that irregularity of manners and avarice were equally prevalent every where; and hence it has been concluded that the manners of men have been regulated by the difference of climate and of government, and by social and national interest.

SINCE an intercourse has been established between the two hemispheres of this world, our thoughts have been less engaged about that other world, which was the hope of the few, and the torment of the many. The diversity and multiplicity of objects industry hath presented to the mind and to the senses, have divided the attachments of men, and weakened the force of every sentiment. The characters of men have been softened, and the spirit of fanaticism, as well as that of chivalry, must necessarily have been extinguished, together with all those striking extravagancies which have prevailed among people who were indolent and averse from labour. The same causes that have produced this revolution in the.

the manners, have yet had a more sudden influence on the nature of government. BOOK XIX.

SOCIETY naturally results from population, and government is a part of the social state. From considering the few wants men have, in proportion to the resources nature affords them, the little assistance and happiness they find in a civilized state, in comparison of the pains and evils they are exposed to in it; their desire of independence and liberty, common to them with all other living beings; together with various other reasons deduced from the constitutions of human nature; from considering all these circumstances, it has been doubted whether the social state was so natural to mankind as it has generally been thought. Govern-ment.

INSULATED men have generally been compared to separate springs. If in the state of nature, without legislation, without government, without chiefs, without magistrates, without tribunals, and without laws, one of these springs should clash with another, either the latter broke the former, or was broken by it, or they were both of them broken. But when, by collecting and arranging these springs, one of those enormous machines, called societies, had been formed, in which, being stretched one against the other, they act and re-act with all the violence of their particular energy, a real state of war was artificially created, and that of war diversified by an innumerable multitude of interests and opinions. The confusion was still infinitely greater, when two, three, four or five of these terrible machines came to shock each other at the same time. It was then, that in the space of a few hours, more springs were broken, and destroyed, than would have been in the course of twenty centuries, either before or without this sublime

BOOK XIX. sublime institution. Thus it is that the first founders of nations are satirized, under the supposition of an ideal and chimerical savage state. Men were never insulated in the manner here described. They bore within themselves a germen of sociability, which was incessantly tending to unfold itself. Had they been inclined to separate, they could not have done it; and supposing they could, they ought not; the defects of their association being compensated by greater advantages.

THE weakness and long continuance of the infant state of man; the nakedness of his body, which has no natural covering like that of other animals; the tendency of his mind to perfection, the necessary consequence of the length of his life; the fondness of a mother for her child, which is increased by cares and fatigues, who, after she has carried it in the womb for nine months, suckles and bears it in her arms for whole years; the reciprocal attachment arising from this habitual connection between two beings who relieve and caress each other; the numerous signs of intercourse in an organization, which, beside the accents of the voice common to so many animals, adds also the language of the fingers, and of gestures peculiar to the human race; natural events, which in a hundred different ways may bring together, or reunite wandering and free individuals; accidents and unforeseen wants, which oblige them to meet for the purposes of hunting, fishing, or even of defence; in a word, the example of so many creatures that live collected together in great numbers, such as amphibious animals and sea monsters, flocks of cranes and other birds, even insects that are found in columns and swarms: all these facts and reasons seem to prove, that men are

are by nature formed for society, and that they are the sooner disposed to enter into it, because they cannot multiply greatly under the torrid zone, unless they be collected into wandering or sedentary tribes; nor can they diffuse themselves *much under the other zones, without associating with their fellow-creatures, for the prey and the spoils which the necessities of food and clothing require.*

FROM the necessity of association, arises that of establishing laws relative to the social state: that is to say, of forming, by a combination of all common and particular instincts, one general plan, that shall maintain the collective body, and the majority of individuals. For if nature direct man to his fellow-creature, it is undoubtedly by a consequence of that universal attraction, which tends to the preservation and reproduction of the species. All the propensities which man brings with him into society, and all the impressions he receives in it, ought to be subordinate to this first impulse. To live and to propagate being the destination of every living species, it should seem that society, if it be one of the first principles of man, should concur in assisting this double end of nature; and that instinct, which leads him to the social state, should necessarily direct all moral and political laws, so as that they should be more durable, and contribute more to the happiness of the majority of mankind. If, however, we consider merely the effect, we should think that the principal or supreme law of all society has been, *to support the ruling power.* Whence can arise the singular contrast, between the end and the means; between the laws of nature and those of politics?

This is a question to which it is difficult to give a proper answer, without forming to one's self

B O O K
XIX.

BOOK XIX. self just notions of nature, and of the succession of the several governments; and history scarce affords us any assistance respecting this great object. All the foundations of the society at present are lost in the ruins of some catastrophe, some natural revolution. In all parts we see men driven away by subterraneous fires or, by war, by inundations or by devouring insects, by want or famine; and joining again in some uninhabited corner of the world, or dispersing and spreading themselves over places already peopled. Police always arises from plunder, and order from anarchy; but in order to obtain some conclusion which shall be satisfactory to reason, these momentary shocks must not be attended to, and nations must be considered in a stationary and tranquil state, in which the singularities of government may appear without controul.

It hath been said that there are two worlds, the natural and the moral. The more extensive the mind shall become, and the more experience it shall acquire, the more shall we be convinced that there is but one, viz. the natural world, which leads every thing, when it is not opposed by fortuitous causes, without which we should constantly have observed the same concatenation in those moral events, which strike us with most astonishment, such as the origin of religious ideas, the progress of the human mind, the discovery of truths, the source and the succession of errors, the beginning and the end of prejudices, the formation of societies, and the periodical order of the several governments.

ALL civilized people have been savages; and all savages, left to their natural impulse, were destined to become civilized. A family was the first society, and the first government was the patriarchal, founded upon attachment, obedience, and

and respect. - The family is extended and divided; opposite interests excite wars between brothers, who disavow each other. One people takes up arms against another. The vanquished become the slaves of the conquerors, who share among themselves their plains, their children, and their wives. The country is governed by a chief, by his lieutenants, and by his soldiers, who represent the free part of the nation, while all the rest is subjected to the atrociousness and to the humiliations of servitude. In this state of anarchy, blinded with jealousy and ferociousness, peace is soon disturbed. These restless men march against and exterminate each other. In process of time, there remains only a monarch, or a despot under the monarch. There is a shadow of justice; legislation makes some progress; ideas of property are unfolded; and the name of slave is changed into that of subject. Under the supreme will of a despot, nothing prevails but terror, meanness, flattery, stupidity, and superstition. This intolerable situation ceases, either by the assassination of the tyrant, or by the dissolution of the empire; and democracy is raised upon it's ruins. It is then, for the first time, that the sacred name of one's country is heard. It is then that man, bent down to earth, raises his head, and appears in his dignity. Then the annals of the nation are filled with heroic deeds. Then there are fathers, mothers, children, friends, fellow-citizens, public and domestic virtues. Then the empire of the laws is established; soars to it's extremest height, the sciences arise, and useful labours are no longer degraded.

UNFORTUNATELY, this state of happiness is only temporary. In all parts, revolutions in government succeed each other with a rapidity scarce to be followed. There are few countries

who

B O O K who have not experienced them all; and there is
 XIX. not any one which, in process of time, will not
 fulfil this periodical motion. They will all, more
 or less frequently, follow a regular circle of mis-
 fortunes and prosperities, of liberty and slavery,
 of morals and corruption, of knowledge and ig-
 norance, of splendour and weakness; they will
 all go through the several points of this fatal ho-
 rizon. The law of nature, which requires that
 all societies should gravitate towards despotism
 and dissolution, that empires should arise, and be
 annihilated, will not be suspended for any one of
 them. While, like the needle which indicates the
 constant direction of the winds, they are either
 advancing or going back, let us see by what means
 Europe is arrived to that state of civilization in
 which it now exists.

WAVING any further account of the Jewish
 government, unless just to observe, that this sin-
 gular nation hath maintained its character, un-
 der all the vicissitudes of its destiny; that the
 Jews, conquered, subdued, dispersed, hated, and
 despised, have still remained attached to their na-
 tion; that they have carried their annals, and
 their country with them, into all climates; that
 whatever region they inhabit, they live in expec-
 tation of a deliverer, and die with their looks
 fixed upon their ancient temple; let us pass on to
 the states of Greece.

THESE were founded by robbers, who destroy-
 ed a few monsters, and a great number of men,
 in order to become kings. It was there, that
 during a short space of time, at least if we date
 from heroic ages, and in a narrow circuit, we
 have a review of all the species of governments,
 of aristocracy, of democracy, of monarchy, of
 despotism, and of anarchy, which was only sus-
 pended, without being extinguished, by the ap-
 proach

proach of the common enemy. There it was, BOOK
XIX. that the imminent danger of slavery gave birth and stability to patriotism, which leads in it's train the origin of all great talents; sublime instance of all vices, and of all virtues; an infinite number of schools of wisdom, in the midst of debauchery; and some models in the fine arts, which in all ages art will always imitate, but will never equal. The Greeks were a frivolous, pleasant, lying, and ungrateful people; they were the only original people that have existed, or perhaps will ever exist upon the face of the earth.

ROME, it is said, was founded by people who escaped from the flames of Troy, or was only a retreat for some banditti from Greece and Italy: but from this scum of the human race arose a nation of heroes, the scourge of all nations, the devourers of themselves; a people more astonishing than admirable, great by their qualities, and worthy of execration by the use they made of them, in the times of the republic; the basest and most corrupt people under their emperors; a people, of whom one of the most virtuous men of his age used to say: If the kings be ferocious animals, who devour nations, what kind of beast must the Roman people be, who devour kings?

WAR, which, from all the great nations of Europe together, had formed only the Roman empire, made these very Romans who were so numerous, become barbarians again. As the dispositions and manners of the conquering people are generally impressed upon the conquered, those who had been enlightened with the knowledge of Rome at the period when it was distinguished by it's learning, now sank again into the darkness of stupid and ferocious Scythians. During ages of ignorance, when superior strength always gave the law, and chance or hunger had compelled the people

BOOK
XIX.

people of the north to invade the southern countries, the continual ebb and flow of emigrations prevented laws from being settled in any place. As soon as a multitude of small nations had destroyed a large one, many chiefs or tyrants divided each vast monarchy into several fiefs. The people, who gained no advantage by the government of one, or of several men, were always oppressed and trampled upon from these dismemberings of the feudal anarchy. Petty wars were continually kept up between neighbouring towns, instead of those great wars that now prevail between nations.

In the mean while, a continual ferment led the nations to establish themselves into some regular and consistent form of government. Kings were desirous of raising themselves upon the ruins of those individuals, or of those powerful bodies of men, by whom the commotions were kept up; and to effect this, they had recourse to the assistance of the people. They were civilized, polished, and more rational laws were given them.

SLAVERY had oppressed their national vigour, property restored it; and commerce, which prevailed after the discovery of the New World, increased all their powers, by exciting universal emulation.

THESE changes were attended with a revolution of another kind. The monarchs had not been capable of aggrandizing their power without diminishing that of the clergy, without favouring religious opinions, or endeavouring to bring them into discredit. Innovators, who ventured to attack the church, were supported by the throne. From that time, the human understanding was strengthened by exerting itself against the phantoms of imagination, and recovering the path of nature and of reason, discovered the true principles of govern-

government. Luther and Columbus appeared; BOOK
XIX.
 the whole universe trembled, and all Europe was in commotion; but this storm left it's horizon clear for ages to come. The former awakened the understandings of men, the latter excited their activity. Since they have laid open all the avenues of industry and freedom, most of the European nations have attended with some success to the correction or improvement of legislation, upon which the felicity of mankind entirely depends. But this spirit of information hath not yet reached the Turks.

THE Turks were not known in Asia till the beginning of the thirteenth century, at which time the Tartars, of whom they were a tribe, made frequent excursions upon the territories of the eastern empire, as the Goths had formerly done in the western provinces. It was in 1300, that Ottoman was declared sultan by his nation, who living till then upon plunder, or selling their service to some Asiatic prince, had not yet thought of forming an independent empire. Ottoman became the chief among these barbarians, as a savage distinguished by his bravery, becomes a chief among his equals; for the Turks at that time were only a hord fixed in the neighbourhood of a people who were half civilized.

UNDER this prince, and his successors, the Ottoman power was daily making fresh progress; nothing resisted it. Princes brought up in the midst of camps and born captains, armies accustomed to victory by continual wars, and better disciplined than those of the Christians, repaired the defects of a bad government.

CONSTANTINOPLE, taken by Mohammed in 1453, became the capital of their empire, and the princes of Europe, plunged in ignorance and barbarism, could only have opposed an ineffectual dike

BOOK

XIX.

dike to this overflowing torrent: if the first successors of Mohammed, at the head of a nation which still preserved the manners, the genius, and the discipline of its founders, had not been obliged to interrupt their expeditions in Poland, in Hungary, or upon the domains of the republic of Venice, in order to go sometimes into Asia, sometimes into Africa, either against rebellious subjects or turbulent neighbours. Their fortune began to fall off as soon as their forces were divided. Successes less rapid and less brilliant occasioned their armies to lose that confidence which was the soul of their exploits. The rest of the empire, crushed under the most rigorous despotism, had not attained to any degree of splendor. It had acquired no real strength from conquests, because it had not known how to take advantage of them by prudent regulations. Destroying in order to preserve, the conquerors had acquired nothing. They reigned only over provinces laid waste, and over the wrecks of the powers whom they had ruined.

WHILE a deceitful prosperity was preparing the fall of the Ottoman empire, a contrary revolution was taking place in Christendom. The minds of men were beginning to be enlightened. Principles less extravagant were introducing themselves into Poland. Feudal government, the fertile source of so many calamities, and which had lasted for so long a time, gave way in several states to a more regular form of government. In other states it was gradually altered, either by laws or by new customs, with which some fortunate circumstances obliged it to comply. At length a power was formed in the neighbourhood of the Turks capable of resisting them. I mean the accession of Ferdinand to the throne of Hungary. This prince, master of the possessions of the House of

of Austria in Germany; was besides certain; from his Imperial crown, of powerful succours against the common enemy. BOOK
XIX.

A MILITARY government tends to despotism, and reciprocally in every despotie government, the military man disposes sooner or later of the sovereign authority. The prince, freed from all kind of law which might restrain his power, doth not fail of abusing it, and soon commands over none but slaves, who take no kind of concern about his fate. He who oppresses finds no defender, because he deserves none. His grandeur is without foundation. His own fears are awakened from the same motives by which he hath excited terror in others. The use he makes of the militia against his subjects, teaches this very militia what they can do against himself. They try their strength, they mutiny, and they revolt. The want of power in the prince makes them insolent. They acquire a spirit of sedition, and it is then that they decide of the fate of their master and of his ministers.

SOLIMAN, informed by the internal commotions which had agitated the empire under the reigns of Bajazet II. and Selim II. of the dangers which threatened himself and his successors, thought that he could adopt no better expedient than to enact a law which deprived the princes of his house, both of the command of the armies and of the government of the provinces. It was by burying in the obscure idleness of a seraglio those to whom their birth gave any pretensions to the empire; that he flattered himself he should remove from the Janissaries every pretence of sedition; but he was deceived. This bad policy served only to increase the mischief of an evil that was perhaps still greater. His successors corrupted by an effeminate education, bore without authority the

BOOK
XIX.

the sword which had founded and had extended the empire. Ignorant princes, who had frequented none but women, and conversed with none but eunuchs, were invested with an unlimited authority, the most unparalleled abuse of which completed the hatred and misery of their subjects, and plunged them in an absolute dependence on the Janissaries, become more avaricious and more untractable than ever. If sometimes, by chance, a sovereign was raised to the throne, who was worthy of occupying it, he was driven from it by ministers, enemies of a master who was able to restrain and examine their power, and penetrate into their conduct.

THOUGH the Grand Seignior possesses vast domains, though the situation of his empire ought to interest him in the disputes of the Christian princes, he hath scarce any influence in the general system of Europe. This is the effect of the ignorance prevailing among the ministry of the Porte, of their prejudices, of the unvariableness of their principles, of the other vices which flow from despotism, and which will perpetuate their bad policy; for tyrants dread nothing so much as novelty. They imagine that all is right, and in fact, nothing advances more rapidly towards perfection than despotism. The best princes leave always a great deal of good to be done by their successors, while the first despot scarce ever leaves any evil for a second to do. Besides, how should a Grand Seignior, sunk in the voluptuousness of a seraglio, suspect that the administration of his dominions is detestable? How is it possible he should not admire the wonderful exactness of the springs, the prodigious harmony of the principles, and of the means which all concur to produce that single and super-excellent end, his most unlimited power, and the most profound servitude

of his subjects. None of them are warned by the fate of so many of their predecessors, who have been either stabbed or strangled.

BOOK
XIX.

THE sultans have never changed their principles. The scimitar, at Constantinople, is still the interpreter of the Koran. Though the Grand Signior may not be seen coming in and going out of the Seraglio, like the tyrant of Morocco, with a bloody head in his hand, yet a numerous cohort of satellites is engaged to execute these horrid murders. The people sometimes massacred by their ruler, at other times assassinate the executioner in their turn; but satisfied with this temporary vengeance, they think not of providing for their future safety, or for the happiness of their posterity. Eastern nations will not be at the trouble of guarding the public safety by laws, which it is a laborious task to form, to settle, and to preserve. If their tyrants carry their oppressions or cruelties too far, the head of the vizir is demanded, that of the despot is stricken off, and thus public tranquillity is restored. This remonstrance, which should be the privilege of the whole nation, is only that of the Janissaries. Even the most powerful men in the kingdom have not the least idea of the right of nations. As personal safety in Turkey belongs only to people of a mean and abject condition, the chief families pride themselves in the very danger they are exposed to from the government. A Bashaw will tell you, that a man of his rank, is not destined, like an obscure person, to finish his days quietly in his bed. One may frequently see widows, whose husbands have been just strangled, exulting that they have been destroyed in a manner suitable to their rank.

It is to this pitch of extravagance that men are led, when tyranny is consecrated by religious

BOOK
XIX.

ideas, which sooner or later it must be. When men cease to take pride in their chains in the eyes of the deity, they look upon them with contempt, and soon proceed to break them. If the apotheosis of the tyrants of Rome had not been a farce, Tiberius would not have been stifled, nor would the murders committed by Nero have been avenged. Oppression, authorized by Heaven inspires such a contempt for life, that it induces the slave to take pride even in his abject state. He is vain of being become in the eyes of his master a being of sufficient importance, that he should not disdain to put him to death. What difference is there between man and man? A Roman will kill himself for fear of owing his life to his equal; and the Mussulman will glory in the sentence of death pronounced against him by his master. Imagination, which can measure the distance of the earth from the firmament, cannot comprehend this. But what is still more surprising is, that the assassination of a despot, so profoundly revered, far from exciting horror, doth not make the least impression. The man who would have joyfully offered him his own head a few minutes before, beholds without emotion his master's, stricken off by the scimitar. His indifference seems to say, that whether the tyrant be dead or alive, he cannot fail of the honour of being strangled under his successor.

THE Russians and the Danes do not entertain the same prejudices, though subject to a power equally arbitrary; because these two nations have the advantage of a more tolerable administration, and of some written laws. They can venture to think, or even to say, that their government is limited; but have never been able to persuade any enlightened man of the truth of their assertion. While the sovereign makes and annuls the laws,

laws, extends or restrains them, and permits or suspends the execution of them at pleasure; while his passions are the only rule of his conduct; while he is the only, the central being to whom every thing tends; while nothing is either just or unjust, but what he makes so; while his caprice is the law, and his favour the standard of public esteem; if this be not despotism, what other kind of government can it possibly be?

B O O K
XIX.

In such a state of degradation, what are men? Enslaved as they are, they can scarce venture to look up to Heaven. They are insensible of their chains, as well as of the shame that attends them. The powers of their minds, extinguished in the bonds of slavery, have not sufficient energy to discover the rights inseparable from their existence. It may be a matter of doubt whether these slaves be not as culpable as their tyrants; and whether the spirit of liberty may not have greater reason to complain of the arrogance of those who invade her rights, than of the weakness of those who know not how to defend them.

It hath however been frequently asserted, that the most happy form of government would be that of a just and enlightened despotic prince. The absurdity of this is evident; for it might easily happen that the will of this absolute monarch might be in direct opposition to the will of his subjects. In that case notwithstanding all his justice and all his abilities, he would deserve censure to deprive them of their rights, even though it were for their own benefit. No man whatsoever is entitled to treat his fellow-creatures like so many beasts. Beasts may be forced to exchange a bad pasture for a better; but to use such compulsion with men, would be an act of tyranny. If they should say, that they are very well where they are, or even if they should agree

BOOK

XIX

in allowing that their situation is a bad one, but that they chuse to stay in it; we may endeavour to enlighten them, to undeceive them, and to bring them to juster notions by the means of persuasion, but never by those of compulsion. The best of princes, who should even have done good against the general consent of his people, would be culpable, if it were only because he had gone beyond his right. He would be culpable not only for the time, but even with regard to posterity; for though he might be just and enlightened, yet his successor, without inheriting either his abilities or his virtues, will certainly inherit his authority, of which the nation will become the victim. A first despot, just, steady, and enlightened, is a great calamity; a second despot, just, steady, and enlightened, would be a still greater one; but a third, who should succeed with all these great qualities, would be the most terrible scourge with which a nation could be afflicted. It is possible to emerge from a state of slavery into which we may have been plunged by violence, but never from that into which we have been led by time and justice. If the lethargy of the people be the forerunner of the loss of their liberty, what lethargy can be more mild, more profound, and more perfidious, than that which hath lasted during three reigns, and which hath been kept up by acts of kindness?

Let not therefore these pretended masters of the people be allowed even to do good against the general consent. Let it be considered, that the condition of those rulers is exactly the same as that of the cacique, who being asked, Whether he had any slaves? answered: *Slaves! I knew but one slave in all my district, and that is myself.*

It is of so much importance to prevent the establishment of arbitrary power, and the calamities

ties which are the infallible consequences of it, BOOK
XIX
 that it is impossible for the despot himself to remedy these great evils. Should he have been upon the throne for half a century; should his administration have been entirely tranquil, should he have had the most extensive knowledge, and should his zeal for the happiness of the people not have been one moment slackened, still nothing would be done. The enfranchisement, or, what is the same thing under another name, the civilization of an empire, is a long and difficult work. Before a nation hath been confirmed, by habit, in a durable attachment for this new order of things, a prince, either from inability, indolence, prejudice, or jealousy; from a predilection for ancient customs, or from a spirit of tyranny; may annihilate all the good accomplished in the course of two or three reigns; or may suffer it to be ineffectual. All monuments therefore attest, that the civilization of states hath been more the effect of circumstances, than of the wisdom of sovereigns. All nations have changed from barbarism to a state of civilization; and from a civilized state to barbarism, till some unforeseen causes have brought them to that level which they never perfectly maintain.

We may perhaps be allowed to doubt, whether all these causes concur with the efforts which are at present making towards the civilization of Russia.

Is the climate of this region very favourable to civilization, and to population, which is sometimes the cause and sometimes the effect of them? Doth not the coldness of the climate require the preservation of the large forests, and consequently, must not immense spaces remain uninhabited? As an excessive length of winter suspends the labours for the space of seven or eight months
 of

BOOK
XIX.

of the year, doth not the nation during this time, of lethargy, devote itself to gaming, to wine, to debauchery, and to an immoderate use of spirituous liquors? Can good manners be introduced notwithstanding the climate? and is it possible to civilize a barbarous people without manners?

DOETH not the immense extent of the empire, which embraces all kinds of climates, from the coldest to the hottest, oppose a powerful obstacle to the legislator? Could one and the same code suit so many different regions? and is not the necessity of having several codes, the same thing as the impossibility of having only one? Can any means be conceived of subjecting to one same rule, people who do not understand each other; who speak seventeen or eighteen different languages, and who preserve, from times immemorial, customs and superstitions, to which they are more attached than to their existence?

As authority weakens, in proportion 'as the subjects are distant from the center of dominion, is it possible to be obeyed at a thousand miles distance from the spot from whence the commands are issued? Should any body tell me that the matter is possible by the influence of government, I shall only reply by the speech of one of these indiscreet delegates, who revealed what passed in the mind of all the others: *God is very high; the emperor is at a great distance; and I am r'after here.*

As the empire is divided into two classes of men, that of the masters, and that of the slaves, how can such opposite interests be conciliated? Tyrants will never freely consent to the extinction of servitude; and in order to bring them to this, it would be necessary to ruin, or to exterminate them. But supposing this obstacle removed,

removed, how is it possible to raise from degraded state of slavery, to the sentiment and the dignity of liberty, people who are so entirely strangers to it, as to be either helpless or ferocious, whenever they are released from their fetters? These difficulties will certainly suggest the idea of creating a third order in the state; but by what means is this to be accomplished; and supposing the means discovered, how many ages would it require to obtain any sensible effect from them?

IN expectation of the formation of this third class of men, which might, perhaps, be accelerated by colonists invited from the free countries of Europe, it would be necessary that an entire security should be established, both with respect to persons and to property; and could such a security be established in a country where the tribunals are occupied by the lords alone; where these species of magistrates reciprocally favour each other; where there can be no prosecution against them, or against their creatures, from which either the natives or the foreigners can expect that the injuries they have received should be redressed, and where venality pronounces the sentence in every kind of contest? We shall ask, whether there can be any civilization without justice, and whether it be possible to establish justice in such an empire?

THE towns are distributed over an immense territory. There are no roads, and those which might be constructed, would be soon spoiled by the climate. Accordingly, desolation is universal, when a damp winter puts a stop to every communication. Let us travel over all the countries of the earth, and wherever we shall find no facility of trading from a city to a town, and from a village to a hamlet, we may pronounce

BOOK XIX pronounce the people to be barbarians; and we shall only be deceived respecting the degree of barbarism. In this state of things, the greatest happiness that could happen to a country of an enormous extent, would be to be dismembered by some great revolution, and to be divided into several petty sovereignties, contiguous to each other, where the order introduced into some of them, would be diffused through the rest. If it be very difficult to govern properly a large civilized empire, must it not be more so to civilize a vast and barbarous empire?

TOLERATION, it is true, subsists at Peterbourg, and almost in an unlimited degree. Judaism alone is excluded, because it hath been thought that it's sectators were either too crafty, or too deceitful in trade, to expose to their snares, a people who had not experience enough to preserve themselves from them. This toleration in the capital, would be a great step towards civilization, if in the rest of the empire the people did not remain immersed in the most gross superstitions; and if these superstitions were not fomented by a numerous clergy, plunged in debauchery and ignorance, without being the less revered. How can a state be civilized without the interference of priests, who are necessarily prejudicial if not useful?

THE high opinion that, according to the example of the Chinese, the Russians have of themselves, is another obstacle to reformation. They truly consider themselves as the most sensible people upon the earth, and are confirmed in this absurd vanity, by those among them who have visited the rest of Europe. These travellers bring back, or feign to bring back, into their country, the prejudice of their own superiority, and enrich it only with the vices, which they have acquired

acquired in the divers regions where chance hath conducted them. Accordingly, a foreign observer, who had gone over the greatest part of the empire, used to say, that *the Russian was rotten, before he had been ripe.* BOOK
XIX.

“ We might extend ourselves more upon the difficulties which nature and customs obstinately oppose to the civilization of Russia. Let us examine the means which have been contrived to succeed in it.

CATHERINE hath undoubtedly been very well convinced, that liberty was the only source of public happiness: and yet, hath she really abdicated despotic authority? In reading attentively her instructions to the deputies of the empire, apparently intrusted with the formation of the laws, is any thing more found in them than the desire of altering denominations, and of being called monarch, instead of autocratrix? Of calling her people subjects, instead of slaves? Will the Russians, blind as they are, take the name, instead of the thing, for any length of time? and will their character be elevated by this farce, to that great degree of energy with which it was proposed to inspire them?

A SOVEREIGN, however great his genius may be, seldom makes alterations of any consequence by himself, and still more unfrequently gives them any degree of stability. He stands in need of assistance, and Russia can offer no other than that of fighting. It's soldiers are hardy, sober, indefatigable. Slavery, which hath inspired them with a contempt of life, hath united with superstition, which hath inspired them with contempt of death. They are persuaded, that whatever crimes they may have committed, their soul will ascend to heaven from the field of battle. But military men, if they defend the provinces, do
not

B O O K not civilize them. In vain do we seek for statesmen about the person of Catherine. What she hath done of herself may be astonishing; but who can be substituted to her, when she shall be no more.

XIX. THIS princess hath founded houses, in which young people of both sexes are brought up with the sentiment of liberty. This will undoubtedly produce a different race from the present. But are these establishments founded upon a solid basis? Are they sustained by themselves, or by the succours which are incessantly lavished upon them? If the present reign hath seen the origin of them, will not the succeeding reign see them annihilated? Are they very agreeable to the great, who perceive the destination of them? Will not the climate, which disposes of every thing, prevail at length over good principles? Will corruption spare those young people, who are lost in the immensity of the empire, and who are assailed on all sides by bad morals?

THERE are a great number of academies of all kinds in the capital; and if these be filled by foreigners, will not these establishments be useless and ruinous, in a country where the learned are not understood, and where there is no employment for artists. In order that talents and knowledge might thrive, it would be necessary, that being offsprings of the soil, they should be the effect of a superabundant population. When will this population arrive to the proper degree of increase, in a country where the slave, to console himself for the wretchedness of his condition, may indeed produce as many children as he can, but will care very little about preserving them.

ALL those who are admitted and brought up in the hospital, recently established for foundlings, are for ever emancipated from slavery. Their

Their descendants will not submit to the yoke again; and as in Spain there are old or new Christians, so in Russia there will be old and new freemen. But the effect of this innovation can only be proportioned to it's continuance: and can we reckon upon the duration of any establishment, in a country where the succession to the empire is not yet inviolably confirmed, and where the inconstancy, which is natural to an enslaved people, brings on frequent and sudden revolutions? If the authors of these conspiracies do not form a body, as in Turkey, if they be a set of insulated individuals, they are soon assembled together, by a secret ferment, and by a common hatred.

DURING the last war, a fund was created for the use of all the members of the empire, even of slaves. By this idea of sound and deep policy, the government acquired a capital, of which it stood in great need; and it sheltered, as much as possible, the vassals from the vexations of their tyrants. It is in the nature of things, that the confidence with which this paper money hath been received, should change, and be annulled. It doth not belong to a despot to obtain credit; and if some singular events have procured it to him, it is a necessary consequence, that succeeding events will make him lose it.

SUCH are the difficulties which have appeared to us to counteract the civilization of the Russian empire. If Catherine II. should succeed in surmounting them, we shall have made the most magnificent eulogium of her courage and her genius, and perhaps the best apology, if she should fail in this great design.

SWEDEN is situated between Russia and Denmark. Let us examine the history of it's constitution,

BOOK XIX. tutation, and endeavour, if possible, to find out the nature of it.

NATIONS that are poor are almost necessarily warlike; because their very poverty, the burden of which they constantly feel, inspires them sooner or later with a desire of freeing themselves from it; and this desire, in process of time, becomes the general spirit of the nation, and the spring of the government.

It only requires a succession of sovereigns, fortunate in war, to change suddenly the government of such a country, from the state of a mild monarchy, to that of the most absolute despotism. The monarch, proud of his triumph, thinks he will be suffered to do whatever he chooses, begins to acknowledge no law but his will; and his soldiers, whom he hath led so often to victory, ready to serve him in all things, and against all men, become, by their attachment to the prince, the terror of their fellow-citizens. The people, on the other hand, dare not refuse the chains, when offered to them by him, who, to the authority of his rank, joins that which he holds from their admiration and gratitude.

THE yoke imposed by a monarch who has conquered the enemies of the state, is certainly burdensome; but the subjects dare not shake it off. It even grows heavier under successors, who have not the same claim to the indulgence of the people. Whenever any considerable reverse of fortune takes place, the despot will be left to their mercy. Then the people, irritated by their long sufferings, seldom fail to avail themselves of the opportunity of recovering their rights. But as they have neither views nor plans, they quickly pass from slavery to anarchy. In the midst of this general confusion, one exclamation only is heard, and that is, Liberty. But, as they know not how

how to secure to themselves this inestimable benefit, the nation becomes immediately divided into various factions, which are guided by different interests. BOOK
XIX.

If there be one among these factions that despairs of prevailing over the others, that faction separates itself from the rest, unmindful of the general good; and being more anxious to prejudice it's rivals than to serve it's country, it sides with the sovereign. From that moment there are but two parties in the state, distinguished by two different names, which, whatever they be, never mean any thing more than royalists and anti-royalists. This is the period of great commotions and conspiracies.

THE neighbouring powers then act the same part they have ever acted at all times, and in all countries, upon similar occasions. They foment jealousies between the people and their prince; they suggest to the subjects every possible method of debasing, degrading, and annihilating the sovereignty; they corrupt even those who are nearest the throne; they occasion some form of administration to be adopted, prejudicial both to the whole body of the nation, which it impoverishes under pretence of exerting itself for their liberty; and injurious to the sovereign, whose prerogative it reduces to nothing.

THE monarch then meets with as many authorities opposed to his, as there are ranks in the state. His will is then nothing without their concurrence. Assemblies must then be holden, proposals made, and affairs of the least importance debated. Tutors are assigned to him, as to a pupil in his non-age; and those tutors are persons whom he may always expect to find ill-intentioned towards him.

BOOK

XIX.

BUT what is then the state of the nation? The neighbouring powers have now, by their influence, thrown every thing into confusion; they have overturned the state, or seduced all the members of it by bribery or intrigues. There is now but one party in the kingdom, and that is the party which espouses the interest of the foreign powers. The members of the factions are all dissemblers. Attachment to the king is an hypocrisy, and aversion for monarchy another. They are two different masks to conceal ambition and avarice. The whole nation is now entirely composed of infamous and venal men.

- It is not difficult to conceive what must happen after this. The foreign powers that had corrupted the nation must be deceived in their expectations. They did not perceive that they carried matters too far; that, perhaps, they acted a part quite contrary to that which a deeper policy would have suggested; that they were destroying the power of the nation, while they meant only to restrain that of the sovereign, which might one day exert itself with all its force, and meet with no resistance capable of checking it; and that this unexpected effect might be brought about in an instant, and by one man.

THAT instant is come; that man hath appeared: and all these base creatures of adverse powers have prostrated themselves before him. He told these men, who thought themselves all-powerful, that they were nothing. He told them, I am your master; and they declared unanimously that he was. He told them, these are the conditions to which I would have you submit; and they answered, we agree to them. Scarce one dissenting voice was heard among them. It is impossible for any man to know what will be the consequence of this revolution. If the king will avail himself

himself of these circumstances, Sweden will never have been governed by a more absolute monarch. If he be prudent; if he understand, that an unlimited sovereign can have no subjects, because he can have no persons under him possessed of property; and that authority can only be exerted over those who have some kind of property; the nation may, perhaps, recover it's original character. Whatever may be his designs or his inclinations, Sweden cannot possibly be more unhappy than she was before.

BOOK
XIX.

POLAND, which has none but slaves within, and therefore deserves to meet with none but oppressors without, still preserves, however, the shadow and the name of liberty. This kingdom is, at present, no better than all the European states were ten centuries ago, subject to a powerful aristocracy, which elects a king, in order to make him subservient to it's will. Each nobleman, by virtue of his feudal tenure, which he preserves with his sword, as his ancestors acquired it, holds a personal and hereditary authority over his vassals. The feudal government prevails there in all the force of it's primitive institution. It is an empire composed of as many states as there are lands. All the laws are settled there, and all resolutions taken, not by the majority, but by the unanimity of the suffrages. Upon false notions of right and perfection, it has been supposed that a law was only just when it was adopted by unanimous consent; because it has undoubtedly been thought, that what was right would both be perceived and put in practice by all; two things that are impossible in a national assembly. But can we even ascribe such pure intentions to a set of tyrants? For this constitution, which boasts the title of a republic, and profanes it, is only a league of petty tyrants against the people. In this

B O O K this country, every one has the power to restrain,
XIX. and no one the power to act. Here the will of each individual may be in opposition to the general one; and here only a fool, a wicked man, and a madman, is sure to prevail over a whole nation.

IN this state of anarchy, there is a perpetual struggle between the great and the monarch. The former torment the chief of the state by their avidity, their ambition, and their mistrust; they irritate him against liberty, and compel him to have recourse to intrigue. The prince, on his part, divides in order to command, seduces in order to defend himself, and opposes artifice to artifice, in order to maintain himself. The factions are inflamed, discord throws every thing into confusion, and the provinces are delivered up to fire, to sword, and to devastation. If the confederacy should prevail, he who should have governed the nation is expelled from the throne, or reduced to the most ignominious dependence. If it should be subdued, the sovereign reigns only over carcases. Whatever may happen, the fate of the multitude experiences no fortunate revolution. Such of these unhappy people who have escaped from famine and carnage, continue to bear the chains with which they were crushed.

If we go over these vast regions, what shall we see in them? The regal dignity, with the title of a republic; the pomp of the throne, with the inability of insuring obedience; the extravagant love of independence, with all the means of slavery; liberty, with cupidity; laws, with anarchy; the most excessive luxury, with the greatest indigence; a fertile soil, with fallow lands; a taste for all the arts, without any one of them. Such are the enormous contrasts Poland will exhibit.

It will be found exposed to every danger. The weakest of it's enemies may enter with impunity, and without precaution, upon it's territory, levy contributions, destroy the towns, ravage the country places, and massacre or carry off the inhabitants. Destitute of troops, of fortresses, of artillery, of ammunition, of money, of generals, and totally ignorant of military principles, what defence could it think of making? With a sufficient population, with sufficient genius and resources to appear of some consequence, Poland is become the opprobrium and the sport of nations.

If turbulent and enterprising neighbours had not yet invaded it's possessions; if they had been satisfied with laying it waste, with dictating to it, and with giving it kings; it is because they were continually mistrustful of each other; but particular circumstances have united them. It was reserved for our days to see this state torn in pieces by three powerful rivals, who have appropriated to themselves those provinces that were most suitable to them, while no power of Europe hath exerted itself to prevent this invasion. It is in the midst of the security of peace, without rights, without pretensions, without grievances, and without a shadow of justice, that the revolution hath been accomplished by the terrible principle of force, which is, unfortunately, the best argument of kings. How great Poniatowski would have appeared, if, when he saw the preparatives for this division, he had presented himself in the midst of the diet, and there abdicating the marks of his dignity, had proudly said to his nobles assembled: "It is your choice that hath raised me to the throne. If you repent of it, I resign the royal dignity. The crown which you have placed upon my head, let it devolve to any one whom you shall think more worthy of

BOOK XIX. "it than me: name him, and I will withdraw.
 "But if you persist in your former oaths, let us
 "fight together to save our country, or let us
 "perish along with it." I appeal to the dividing
 powers, whether so generous a step would not
 have saved Poland from ruin, and its prince
 from the disgrace of having been its last sove-
 reign. But fate hath determined the matter
 otherwise. May this crime of ambition turn out
 to the advantage of mankind; and by prudently
 recurring to the sound principles of good policy,
 may the usurpers break the chains of the most
 laborious part of their new subjects! These peo-
 ple, become less unhappy, will be more intelli-
 gent, more active, more affectionate, and more
 faithful.

In a monarchy, the forces and wills of every
 individual are at the disposal of one single man; in
 the government of Germany, each separate state
 constitutes a body. This is, perhaps, the nation
 that resembles most what it formerly was. The
 ancient Germans, divided into colonies by im-
 mense forests, had no occasion for a very refined
 legislation. But in proportion as their descend-
 ants have multiplied and come nearer each other,
 art has kept up in this country what nature had
 established, the separation of the people and their
 political union. The small states that compose
 this confederate republic, preserve the character
 of the first families. Each particular government
 is not always parental, or the rulers of the nations
 are not always mild and humane. But still reason
 and liberty, which unite the chiefs to each other,
 soften the severity of their dispositions, and the
 rigour of their authority: a prince in Germany
 cannot be a tyrant with the same security as in
 large monarchies.

THE Germans, who are rather warriors than warlike people, because they are rather proficient in the art of war than addicted to it from inclination, have been conquered but once; and it was Charlemagne who conquered, but could not reduce them to subjection. They obeyed the man, who, by talents superior to the age he lived in, had subdued and enlightened it's barbarism; but they shook off the yoke of his successors. They preserved, however, the title of emperor to their chief; but it was merely a name, since, in fact, the power resided almost entirely in the barons who possessed the lands. The people, who in all countries have unfortunately always been enslaved, spoiled, and kept in a state of misery and ignorance, each the effect of the other, reaped no advantage from the legislation. This subverted that social equality which does not tend to reduce all conditions and estates to the same degree, but to a more general diffusion of property; and upon it's ruins was formed the feudal government, the characteristic of which is anarchy. Every nobleman lived in a total independence, and each people under the most absolute tyranny. This was the unavoidable consequence of a government, where the crown was elective. In those states where it was hereditary, the people had, at least, a bulwark and a permanent refuge against oppression. The regal authority could not extend itself, without alleviating for some time the fate of the vassals by diminishing the power of the nobles.

BUT in Germany, where the nobles took advantage of each interregnum to invade and to restrain the rights of the Imperial power, the government could not but degenerate. Superior force decided every dispute between those who could appeal to the sword. Countries and people were only the causes or the objects of war be-

B O O K ^{XIX.} between the proprietors. Crimes were the support of injustice. Rapine, murder, and conflagrations; not only became frequent, but even lawful. Superstition, which had consecrated tyranny, was compelled to restrain it. The church, which afforded an asylum to banditti of every kind; established a truce between them. The protection of saints was implored to escape the fury of the nobles. The ashes of the dead were only sufficient to awe the ferociousness of these people: so alarming are the terrors of the grave, even to men of cruel and savage dispositions.

WHEN the minds of men, kept in constant alarm, were disposed to tranquillity through fear; policy, which avails itself equally of reason and the passions, of ignorance and understanding, to rule over mankind, attempted to reform the government. On the one hand, several inhabitants in the countries were enfranchised: and on the other, exemptions were granted in favour of the cities. A number of men in all parts were made free. The emperors, who, to secure their election even among ignorant and ferocious princes; were obliged to discover some abilities and some virtues, prepared the way for the improvement of the legislation.

MAXIMILIAN improved the means of happiness which time and particular events had concurred to produce in his age. He put an end to the anarchy of the great. In France and Spain, they had been made subject to regal authority; in Germany, the emperors made them submit to the authority of the laws. For the sake of the public tranquillity, every prince is amenable to justice. It is true, that these laws established among princes, who may be considered as lions, do not save the people, who may be compared to lambs: they are still at the mercy of their rulers, who are only bound one towards

towards another. But as public tranquillity cannot be violated, nor war commenced, without the prince who is the cause of it being subject to the penalties of a tribunal that is always open; and supported by all the forces of the empire, the people are less exposed to those sudden irruptions, and unforeseen hostilities, which, threatening the property of the sovereigns, continually endangered the lives and safety of the subjects.

Why should not Europe be one day entirely subject to the same form of government? Why should there not be the ban of Europe, as there is the ban of the empire? Why should not the princes composing such a tribunal, the authority of which should be consented to by all, and maintained unanimously against any one refractory member, realize the beautiful visionary system of the Abbé St. Pierre? Why should not the complaints of the subjects be carried to this tribunal, as well as the complaints of one sovereign against another? Then would wisdom reign upon the earth.

While this perpetual peace, which hath been so long wished for, and which is still at such a distance, is expected, war, which formerly established right, is now subject to conditions that moderate it's fury. The claims of humanity are heard even in the midst of carnage. Thus Europe is indebted to Germany for the improvement of the legislation in all states; regularity and forms even in the revenge of nations; a certain equity even in the abuse of power; moderation in the midst of victory; a check to the ambition of all potentates; in a word, fresh obstacles to war, and fresh encouragements to peace.

This happy constitution of the German empire has improved with the progress of reason ever since the reign of Maximilian. Nevertheless the Germans

BOOK XIX. { Germans themselves complain, that although they form a national body, distinguished by the same name, speaking the same language, living under the same chief, enjoying the same privileges, and connected by the same interests, yet their empire has not the advantage of that tranquillity, that power, and consideration, which it ought to have.

THE causes of this misfortune are obvious. The first is the obscurity of the laws. The writings upon the *jus publicum* of Germany are numberless; and there are but few Germans who are versed in the constitution of their country. All the members of the empire now send their representatives to the national assembly, whereas they formerly sat there themselves. The military turn, which is become universal, has precluded all application to business, suppressed every generous sentiment of patriotism, and all attachment to fellow-citizens. There is not one of the princes, who has not settled his court too magnificently for his income, and who does not authorize the most flagrant oppressions to support this ridiculous pomp. In short, nothing contributes to the decay of the empire so much, as the too extensive dominion of some of its princes. The sovereigns become too powerful, separate their private interest from the general good. This reciprocal disunion among the states, is the reason that in dangers which are common to all, each province is left to itself. It is obliged to submit to that prince, whoever he may be, whose power is superior; and thus the Germanic constitution degenerates insensibly into slavery or tyranny.

GREAT BRITAIN was but little known before the Romans had carried their arms there. After these proud conquerors had forsaken it, as well as the other provinces distant from their dominion,

BOOK
XIX.

or of peasants, of inhabitants of towns or of the country, united their resentments and their interests. This universal confederacy softened a little the destiny of the nation under the reigns of the two first Henrys: but it was not till during that of John, that it truly recovered it's liberty. Fortunately this turbulent; cruel, ignorant, and dissipating monarch, was compelled, by force of arms, to grant that famous charter which abolished the most oppressive of the feudal laws, and secured to the vassals, respecting their lords, the same rights as were confirmed to the lords in regard to kings; which put all persons, and every species of property, under the protection of peers and of juries, and which even, in favour of the vassals, diminished the oppression of slavery.

This arrangement suspended for a short time the jealousy subsisting between the barons and the princes, without extinguishing entirely the source of it. The wars began again, and the people availed themselves of the idea they had given of their strength and courage during these commotions, in order to gain admission into parliament under Edward I. Their deputies, it is true, had at first no more than the rights of representation in this assembly; but this success was the prelude to other advantages, and accordingly the commons soon determined the subsidies, and made part of the legislation; they even soon acquired the prerogative of impeaching and bringing to judgment those ministers who had abused the authority they were intrusted with.

The nation had gradually reduced the power of the chiefs to what it ought to be when it became engaged in long and obstinate wars against France, and when the pretensions of the Houses of York and Lancaster made all England a scene of carnage and of desolation. During these
dreadful

dreadful commotions the din of arms alone was heard. The laws were silent, and they did not even recover the least part of their force when the storms were appeased. Tyranny was exerted with so many atrocious acts, that citizens of all ranks gave up every idea of general liberty, in order to attend only to their personal safety. This cruel despotism lasted more than a century. Elizabeth herself, whose administration might, in several respects, serve as a model, always conducted herself according to principles entirely arbitrary.

JAMES I. apparently recalled to the minds of the people those rights which they seemed to have forgotten, less wise than his predecessors, who had contented themselves with tacitly enjoying unlimited power, and as it were, under the veil of mystery, this prince, deceived by the name of monarchy, encouraged in his illusion by his courtiers and his clergy, openly avowed his pretensions with a degree of blind simplicity, of which there had been no example. The doctrine of passive obedience issued from the throne, and taught in the churches, diffused universal alarm.

AT this period, liberty, that idol of elevated minds, which renders them ferocious in a savage state, and haughty in a civilized one, liberty, which had reigned in the breasts of the English, at a time even when they were but imperfectly acquainted with it's advantages, inflamed the minds of all men. In the reign of this first of the Stuarts, however, it was only a perpetual struggle between the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the citizens. Opposition appeared under another aspect in the reign of the obstinate successor of this weak despot. Arms became the sole arbiter of these great concerns, and the nation shewed, that in combating formerly

BOOK XIX
 erly for the choice of their tyrants, they had paved the way for destroying them, punishing, and expelling them at another time

To put an end to the spirit of revenge and mistrust which would have been perpetuated between the king and the people as long as the Stuarts had occupied the throne, the English chose from a foreign race, a prince who was obliged to accept at least of that social compact of which all hereditary monarchs affect to be ignorant. William III received the crown on certain conditions, and contented himself with an authority established upon the same basis as the rights of the people. Since a parliamentary claim is become the sole foundation of royalty, the conventions have not been infringed.

THE government is formed between absolute monarchy, which is tyranny, democracy, which tends to anarchy; and aristocracy, which fluctuating between one and the other, falls into the errors of both. The mixt government of the English, combining the advantages of these three powers, which mutually observe, moderate, assist, and check each other, tends from it's very principles to the national good. These several springs, by their action and reaction, form an equilibrium from which liberty arises. This constitution, of which there is no instance among the ancients, and which ought to serve as a model to all people, whose geographical position will admit of it, will last for a long time, because at it's origin, which is usually the work of commotions; of manners, and of transient opinions, it became the work of reason and experience.

THE first fortunate singularity in the constitution of Great Britain, is to have a king. Most of the republican states known in history, had formerly annual chiefs. This continual change

of magistrates, proved an inexhaustible source of intrigues and confusion, and kept up a continual commotion in the minds of men. By creating one very great citizen England hath prevented the rising up of many. By this stroke of wisdom those dissensions have been prevented, which in all popular associations have induced the ruin of liberty, and the real enjoyment of this first of blessings before it had been lost.

THE royal authority in England, is not only for life, but is also hereditary. At first sight, nothing appears more advantageous for a nation than the right of choosing it's masters. An inexhaustible source of talents and virtues seems to spring from this brilliant prerogative. This would indeed be the case, if the crown were necessarily to devolve to the citizen most worthy to wear it. But this is a chimerical idea, disproved by the experience of all people and of all ages. A throne hath always appeared to the eyes of ambition, of too great a value to be the appurtenance of merit alone. Those who aspire to it have always had recourse to intrigue, to corruption, and to force. Their competition hath excited at every vacancy a civil war, the greatest of political calamities, and the person who hath obtained the preference over his competitors, hath been nothing more during the course of his reign but the tyrant of the people, or the slave of those to whom he owed his elevation. The Britons are therefore to be commended for having averted from themselves these calamities, by putting the reins of government into the hands of a family that had merited and obtained their confidence.

It was proper to secure to the chiefs of the state a revenue sufficient to support the dignity of his rank. Accordingly, at his accession to the throne, an

B O O K an annual subsidy is granted 'to him for his own
XIX. life, fit for a great king, and 'worthy of an opu-
 { } lent nation. But this concession 'is not to be
 made till after a strict examination of the state
 of public affairs; after the abuses which might
 have introduced themselves in preceding reigns
 have been reformed, and after the constitution
 hath been brought back to it's true principles:
 By this management England hath obtained 'an
 advantage which all free governments had endea-
 voured to procure to themselves, that is to say, a
 periodical reformation.

To assign to the monarch that kind of autho-
 rity best calculated for the good of the people
 was not so easy a matter. 'All histories attest,
 that wherever the executive power hath been di-
 vided, the minds of men have always been agi-
 tated with endless hatred and jealousies, and that
 a sanguinary contest hath always tended to the
 ruin of the laws and to the establishment of the
 strongest power. This consideration determined
 the English to confer on the king alone this spe-
 cies of power, which is nothing when it is divid-
 ed; since there is then neither that harmony, nor
 that secrecy, nor that dispatch, which can alone
 impart energy to it.

From this great prerogative necessarily follows
 the disposal of the forces of the republic. The
 abuses of them would have been difficult in times
 when the militia were but seldom assembled, and
 only for a few months, and when therefore they
 had no time to lose that attachment they owed to
 their country.* But since all the princes of Europe
 have contracted the ruinous habit of maintaining,
 even in time of peace, a standing army of mer-
 cenary troops, and since the safety of Great Bri-
 tain hath required that she should conform to this
 fatal custom, the danger is become greater, and
 it

it has been necessary to increase the precautions. BOOK
XIX.
The nation alone hath the power of assembling the troops; she never settles them for more than a year, and the taxes established for the payment of them have only the same duration. So that if this mode of defence, which circumstances have induced to think necessary, should threaten liberty, it would never be long before the troubles would be put an end to.

A STILL firmer support to the English liberty, is the division of the legislative power. Wherever the monarch can establish or abolish laws at pleasure there is no government; the prince is a despot, and the people are slaves. If the legislative power be divided, a well-regulated constitution will scarce ever be corrupted, and that only for a short time. From the fear of being suspected of ignorance or corruption, neither of the parties would venture to make dangerous proposals, and if either of them should, it would disgrace itself to no purpose. In this arrangement of things, the greatest inconvenience that can happen, is that a good law should be rejected, or that it should not be adopted so soon as the greatest possible good might require. The portion of the legislative power which the people have recovered, is insured to them by the exclusive regulation they have of the taxes. Every state hath both customary and contingent wants. Neither the one nor the other can be provided for any other-wise than by taxes, and in Great Britain the sovereign cannot exact one. He can only address himself to the Commons, who order what they think most suitable to the national interest, and who, after having regulated the taxes, have an account given to them of the use they have been put to.

BOOK
XIX.

It is not the multitude who exercise these inestimable prerogatives which their courage and their perseverance hath procured to them. This order of things, which may be proper for feeble associations, would necessarily have subverted every thing in a great state. Representatives, chosen by the people themselves, and whose destiny is connected with their's, reflect, speak, and act for them. As it was possible, however, that either from indolence, weakness, or corruption, these representatives might fail in the most august and the most important of duties, the remedy of this great evil hath been found in the right of election. As soon as the time of the commission expires the electors are assembled. They grant their confidence again to those who have shewn themselves worthy of it, and they reject with disdain those who have betrayed it. As a discernment of this kind is not above the abilities of common men, because it depends upon facts, which are usually very simple, those disorders are thus terminated which did not derive their source from the effects of government, but from the particular dispositions of those who directed it's operations.

NEVERTHELESS, there might result from this division of power between the king and the people a continual struggle, which, in process of time, might have brought on either a republic or slavery. To prevent this inconvenience, an intermediate body hath been established, which must be equally apprehensive of both these revolutions. This is the order of the nobility destined to lean to the side which might become the weakest, and thus ever to maintain the equilibrium. The constitution, indeed, hath not given them the same degree of authority as to the commons; but the splendour of hereditary dignity, the privileges of
a seat

a seat in the House of Peers; belonging to themselves and without election, together with some other prerogatives of honour, have been contrived to substitute as much as possible to what they wanted in real strength.

B O O K
XIX.

BUT if, notwithstanding so many precautions; it should at length happen, that some ambitious and enterprising monarch, should wish to reign without his parliament, or to compel them to agree to his arbitrary decisions, the only resource remaining to the nation would be resistance.

It was upon a system of passive obedience, of divine right; and of power not to be dissolved; that the regal authority was formerly supported: These absurd and fatal prejudices had subdued all Europe, when in 1688, the English precipitated from the throne a superstitious, persecuting; and despotic prince. Then it was understood, that the people did not belong to their chiefs; then the necessity of an equitable government among mankind was incontestibly established; then were the foundations of societies settled; then the legitimate right of defence, the last resource of nations that are oppressed, was incontrovertibly fixed. At this memorable period, the doctrine of resistance, which had till then been only one act of violence opposed to other acts of violence, was avowed in England by the law itself.

BUT how is it possible to render this great principle useful and efficient? Will a single citizen; left to his own strength, ever venture to strive against the power, always formidable, of those who govern? Will he not necessarily be crushed by their intrigues, or by their oppression? This would undoubtedly be the case, were it not for the indefinite liberty of the press. By this fortunate expedient, the actions of the depositaries of
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BOOK XIX. authority, become public. Any vexations or outrages that have been committed over the most obscure individual, are soon brought to light. His cause becomes the cause of all; and the oppressors are punished, or satisfaction is only offered for the injury, according to the nature of the offence, or the disposition of the people.

THIS description of the British constitution; made without art, must have convinced all persons of a proper way of thinking, that there hath never been a constitution so well regulated upon the face of the globe. We shall be confirmed in this opinion, when we consider that the most important affairs have always been publicly canvassed in the senate of the nation, without any real mischief having ever resulted from it. Other powers think they stand in need of the veil of mystery, to cover their operations. Secrecy appears to them essential to their preservation, or to their prosperity. They endeavour to conceal their situation, their projects, and their alliances, from their enemies, from their rivals, and even from their friends. The quality of being impenetrable, is the greatest praise they think they can bestow upon a statesman. In England, the internal, as well as external, proceedings of government, are all open, all exposed to the face of day. How noble and confident it is, in a nation, to admit the universe to it's deliberations! How honest, and advantageous it is, to admit all the citizens to them! Never hath Europe been told, in a more energetic manner: *We do not fear thee.* Never hath it been said, with more confidence and justice, to any nation: *Try us, and see whether we be not faithful depositaries of your interest, of your glory, and of your happiness.* The empire is constituted with sufficient strength, to resist the shocks which are inseparable from such a custom, and

nd to give this advantage to neighbours" who may not be favourably inclined.

BUT is this government a perfect one? Certainly not; because there is not, neither can there be, any thing perfect in this world. In a matter so complicated, how is it possible to foresee, and to obviate every thing? Perhaps, in order that the chief of the nation should be as dependant upon the will of the people, as would be suitable to their security, liberty, and happiness, it would be necessary that this chief should have no property out of his kingdom. Otherwise, the good of one country happening to clash with that of the other, the interests of the precarious sovereignty will often be sacrificed to those of the hereditary sovereignty; otherwise, the enemies of the state will have two powerful means of molesting it; sometimes by intimidating the king of Great Britain, by threats addressed to the elector of Hanover; sometimes, by engaging the king in fatal wars, which they will prolong at pleasure; sometimes, by compelling the elector to put an end to these hostilities by a shameful peace. Will the nation meanly abandon the king, in quarrels that are foreign to them? and if they should interfere, will it not be at their expence, at the loss of their revenues, and of their population? Who knows whether the danger of the foreign sovereign, will not render him base, and even treacherous to the national sovereign? In this case, the British nation could do nothing better than to say to their sovereign: *Either resign your sovereignty or your electorate; abdicate the dominions you held from your ancestors, if you mean to keep those you hold from us.*

A CONSTITUTION, in which the legislative and executive power are separate, bears within itself,

BOOK XIX. the seeds of perpetual contest. It is impossible that peace should reign between two opposite, political bodies. Prerogative must endeavour to extend itself, and press upon liberty, and *vice versa*.

WHATEVER admiration we may have for a government, if it can only preserve itself by the same means by which it had been established; if it's future history must exhibit the same scenes as the past, such as rebellion, civil wars, destruction of the people, the assassination or, expulsion of kings, a state of perpetual alarms and commotions; who would wish for a government upon such conditions? If peace, both within and without, be the object of administration, what shall we think of an order of things that is incompatible with it?

Would it not be to be wished, that the number of representatives should be proportioned to the value of property, and to the exact ratio of patriotism? Is it not absurd that a poor hamlet, or a wretched village, should depute as many or more members to the assembly of the commons, as the most opulent city or district? What interest can these men take in the public felicity, which they scarce partake of? What facility will not bad ministers find in their indigence to bribe them; and to obtain, by money, that majority they stand in need of? O, shame! The rich man purchases the suffrages of his constituents, to obtain the honour of representing them; and the court buys the vote of the representative, in order to govern with more despotic sway. Would not a prudent nation endeavour to prevent both the one and the other of these corruptions? Is it not surprising that this hath not been done upon the day, when a representative had the impudence to make his constituents wait

wait in his antichamber, and afterwards to say to them: *I know not what you want, but I will only act as I think proper; I have bought you very dear, and I am resolved to sell you as dear as I can*: Or even upon that day, when the minister boasted of having in his pocket-book the rates of every man's probity in England?

BOOK
XIX.

Is there nothing to object against the effort of these three powers, acting perpetually one upon the other, and tending incessantly to an equilibrium which they will never obtain? This struggle, is it not somewhat similar to a continual anarchy? Doth it not endanger commotions, in which, from one moment to another, the blood of the citizens may be spilt, without our being able to foresee, whether the advantage will remain on the side of tyranny or on that of liberty? And, if all circumstances be well weighed, would not a nation less independent and more quiet be happy?

THESE defects, and others added to them, will they not one day bring on the decline of the government? This is a circumstance we cannot decide; but we are convinced it would be a great misfortune for the nations; since they all owe to it a milder destiny than that which they before enjoyed. The example of a free, rich, magnanimous, and happy people, in the midst of Europe, hath engaged the attention of all men. The principles from which many benefits have been derived, have been adopted, discussed, and presented to the monarchs, and to their delegates; who, to avoid being accused of tyranny, have been obliged to adopt them, with more or less modification. The ancient maxims would soon be revived, if there did not exist, as it were, in the midst of us, a perpetual tribunal, which demonstrated the depravity and absurdity of them.

B O O K
XIX.

BUT, if the enjoyments of luxury should happen totally to pervert the morals of the nation; if the love of pleasure should soften the courage of the commanders and officers of the fleets and armies; if the intoxication of temporary successes; if vain ideas of false greatness should excite the nation to enterprises above their strength; if they should be deceived in the choice of their enemies, or their allies; if they should lose their colonies, either by making them too extensive, or by laying restraints upon them; if their love of patriotism be not exalted to the love of humanity; they will, sooner or later, be enslaved, and return to that kind of insignificancy from whence they emerged only through torrents of blood, and through the calamities of two ages of fanaticism and war. They will become like other nations whom they despise, and Europe will not be able to shew the universe one nation, in which she can venture to pride herself. Despotism, which always oppresses most heavily minds that are subdued and degraded, will alone rise superior, amidst the ruin of arts, of morals, of reason, and of liberty.

THE history of the united provinces is replete with very singular events. Their combination arose from despair, and almost all Europe encouraged their establishment. They had but just triumphed over the long and powerful efforts of the court of Spain to reduce them to subjection, when they were obliged to try their strength against the Britons, and disconcerted the schemes of France. They afterwards gave a king to England, and deprived Spain of the provinces she possessed in Italy and the Low Countries, to give them to Austria. Since that period, Holland has been disgusted of such a system of politics, as would engage her in war; she attends solely to the

the preservation of her constitution, but, perhaps, BOOK
XIX.
not with sufficient zeal, care, and integrity.

THE constitution of Holland, though previously modelled on a plan that was the result of reflection, is not less defective than those which have been formed by chance. One of it's principal defects is, that the sovereignty is too much divided.

It is a mistake to suppose that the authority resides in the States General fixed at the Hague. The fact is, that the power of the members who compose this assembly, consists only in deciding upon matters of form, or police. In alliances, peace, war, new taxes, or any other important matter, each of the deputies must receive the orders of his province; which is itself obliged to obtain the consent of the cities. The consequence of this complicated order of things is, that the resolutions which would require the greatest secrecy and celerity, are necessarily tardy and public.

It seems, that in an union contracted between this number of states, independent of each other, and connected only by their common interest, each of them ought to have had an influence proportioned to it's extent, to it's population, and to it's riches: but this fortunate basis, which enlightened reason ought to have founded, is not adopted by the confederate body. The province which bears more than half of the public expences, hath no more votes than that which contributes only one hundredth part of them; and in that province, a petty town, uninhabited, and unknown, hath legally the same weight as this unparalleled city, the activity and industry of which are a subject of astonishment and of jealousy to all nations.

BOOK

XIX

THE unanimity of the towns and provinces, which is required for all important resolutions, is not a measure of more judicious policy. If the most considerable members of the republic should resolve to act without the concurrence of the less important branches, this would be a manifest infringement of the principles of the union; and if they should lay a great stress upon obtaining their suffrages, they will not succeed without much solicitation or concessions. Which ever of these two expedients hath been adopted, when the parties have differed, the harmony of the United States hath usually been disturbed, and frequently in a violent and permanent manner.

THE imperfections of such a constitution did not, in all probability, escape the Prince of Orange, the founder of this republic. If this great man permitted that they should serve as a basis to the government which was establishing, it was undoubtedly in hopes that they would render the election of a Stadtholder necessary, and that this supreme magistrate would always be chosen in his family. This view of a profound ambition hath not always been attended with success; and this singular magistracy, which, united to the absolute disposal of the land and sea forces, several other important prerogatives, hath been twice abolished.

AT these periods, which are remarkable in the history of a state, unparalleled in the annals of the Old and of the New World, great changes have been produced. The authors of the revolution have boldly divided all the authority among themselves. An intolerable tyranny hath been every where established, with more or less effrontery. Under pretence that the general assemblies were tumultuous, fatiguing, and dangerous, the people have no longer been called in

to elect the depositaries of the public authority. The burgomasters have chosen their sheriffs, and have seized upon the finances, of which they gave no account, but to their equals or constituents. The senators have arrogated to themselves the right of completing their own body. Thus the magistracy hath been confined to a few families, who have assumed an almost exclusive right of deputation to the States General. Each province, and each town, have been at the disposal of a small number of citizens, who, dividing the rights and the spoils of the people, have had the art of eluding their complaints, or of preventing the effects of any extraordinary discontent. The government is become almost Aristocratic. Had the reformation been extended only to what was defective in the constitution the House of Orange might have apprehended that they should no more be reinstated in that degree of splendour from which they had fallen. A less disinterested conduct hath occasioned the restoration of the Stadtholdership; and it hath been made hereditary, even in the female line.

BUT will this dignity become in time an instrument of oppression? Enlightened men do not think it possible. Rome, say they, is always quoted as an example to all our free states, that have no circumstance in common with it. If the dictator became the oppressor of that republic, it was in consequence of it's having oppressed all other nations; it was because it's power having been originally founded by war, must necessarily be destroyed by it; and because a nation, composed of soldiers, could not escape the despotism of a military government. However improbable it may appear, it is yet certain, that the Roman republic submitted to the yoke, because it paid no taxes. The conquered people were the only tributaries

BOOK butaries to the treasury. The public revenues; therefore, necessarily remaining the same after the revolution as before, property did not appear to be attacked; and the citizen thought he should be still free enough, while he had the disposal of his own.

XIX. HOLLAND, on the contrary, will maintain it's liberty; because it is subject to very considerable taxes. The Dutch cannot preserve their country without great expences. The sense of their independence alone excites an industry proportionable to the load of their contributions, and to the patience necessary to support the burden of them. If to the enormous expences of the state it were necessary to add those which the pomp of a court requires; if the prince were to employ in maintaining the agents of tyranny what ought to be bestowed on the foundations of a land obtained, as it were, from the sea, he would soon drive the people to despair.

THE inhabitant of Holland, placed upon a mountain, and who observes at a distance the sea rising eighteen or twenty feet above the level of the lands, and dashing it's waves against the dikes he has raised, considers within himself, that sooner or later this boisterous element will get the better of him. He disdains, so precarious a dwelling, and his house, made either of wood or stone at Amsterdam, is no longer looked upon as such; it is his ship that is his asylum, and by degrees he acquires an indifference and manners conformable to this idea. The water is to him what the vicinity of volcanos is to the other people.

If to these natural causes of the decay of a patriotic spirit were joined the loss of liberty, the Dutch would quit a country, that cannot be cultivated but by men who are free; and those people, so devoted to trade, would carry their spirit of commerce,

commerce, together with their riches, to some other part of the globe. Their islands in Asia, their factories in Africa, their colonies in America, and all the ports in Europe, would afford them an asylum. What stadtholder, what prince, revered by such a people, would wish, or dare to become their tyrant?

A SENSELESS, ambitious man, or a ferocious warrior, might possibly attempt it. But among those who are destined to govern the nation, are such men rarely to be found. Every thing seems to conspire in exciting the greatest apprehensions in the republic upon this important point. There are scarce any natives on board their fleets, except a few officers. Their armies are composed of, recruited, and commanded by foreigners, devoted to a chief, who, according to their ideas, can never arm them against people to whom they are attached by no tie. The fortresses of the state are all governed by generals who acknowledge no other laws beside those of the prince. Courtiers degraded in their characters, overwhelmed with debts, destitute of virtue, and interested in the subversion of the established order, are perpetually raised to the most important posts. It is by favour, that a set of commanders, devoid of shame and of ability, have been placed, and are maintained in the colonies; men who, either from motives of gratitude or of cupidity, are inclined to accomplish the slavery of those distant regions.

AGAINST so many dangers, of what avail can be the general lethargy, the thirst of riches, the taste for luxury, which begins to insinuate itself, the spirit of trade, and the perpetual condescensions shewn for an hereditary authority? According to every probability, the United Provinces, without effusion of blood, and without commotion,

BOOK XIX. commotion, must insensibly fall under the yoke of a monarchy. As the spirit of despotism, or the desire of meeting with no opposition to our wishes, is inherent in the mind of every man in a greater or less degree, some stadtholder may arise, and perhaps soon, who, regardless of the fatal consequences of his enterprise, will enslave the nation. It concerns the Dutch attentively to consider these observations.

THE Roman empire was shaking on all sides, when the Germans entered into Gaul, under the guidance of a chief whom they had chosen themselves, and to whom they were rather companions than subjects. This was not an army, the ambition of which was limited to the seizing of some fortified places; it was the irruption of a people in search of a settlement. As they attacked none but slaves, dissatisfied with their fate, or masters enervated by the luxuries of a long peace, they met with no very obstinate resistance. The conquerors appropriated to themselves the lands which suited them, and separated soon after, in order to enjoy their fortune in peace.

THE division was not the work of blind chance. The possessions were settled by the general assembly, and they were enjoyed under its authority. They were granted at first for no more than one year; but this period was gradually prolonged, and was at last extended to the life of the possessor. Matters were carried still further, when the springs of government became entirely relaxed; and under the feeble descendants of Charlemagne, hereditary possession was almost generally established. This usurpation was consecrated by a solemn convention, at the accession of Hugo Capet to the throne; and at that period the feudal tenure, that most destructive of all rights, prevailed in all its force.

FRANCE was then no more than an assemblage of petty sovereignties, situated near each other, but without having any connection. In this state of anarchy, the lords, entirely independent of the apparent chief of the nation, oppressed their subjects, or their slaves, at pleasure. If the monarch interested himself in the fate of these unhappy people, they declared war against him; and if these people themselves sometimes ventured to appeal to the rights of mankind, the consequence was, that the chains with which they were crushed became still more oppressive.

IN the mean while, the extinction of some powerful houses, together with various treaties and conquests, were successively adding to the royal domain, territories of greater or less extent: This acquisition of several provinces gave to the crown a mass of power, which imparted to it some degree of energy. A perpetual contest between the kings and the nobles, an alternate superiority of the power of one single person, or of several; such was the kind of anarchy that lasted, almost without interruption, till about the middle of the fifteenth century.

THE character of the French was then changed by a train of events which had altered the form of government. The war which the English, in conjunction with, or under the direction of the Normans, had incessantly carried on against France for two or three hundred years past, spread a general alarm, and occasioned great ravages. The triumphs of the enemy, the tyranny of the great, all conspired to make the nation wish that the prince might be invested with power sufficient to expel foreigners out of the kingdom, and to keep the nobles in subjection. While princes distinguished by their wisdom and bravery were endeavouring to accomplish this great work,

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BOOK
XIX.

a new generation arose. Every individual, when the general alarm was past, thought himself happy enough in the privileges his ancestors had enjoyed. They neglected to trace the source of the power of kings, which was derived from the nation; and Lewis XI. having few obstacles to surmount, became more powerful than his predecessors.

BEFORE his time, the history of France presents us with an account of a variety of states, sometimes divided, and sometimes united. Since that prince's reign, it is the history of a great monarchy. The power of several tyrants is centered in one person. The people are not more free; but the constitution is different. Peace is enjoyed with greater security within, and war carried on with more vigour without.

CIVIL wars, which tend to make a free people become slaves, and to restore liberty to a nation that is already enslaved, have had no other effect in France, than that of humbling the great, without exalting the people. The ministers, who will always be the creatures of the prince, while the general sense of the nation has no influence in affairs of government, have sold their fellow-citizens to their master; and as the people, who were possessed of nothing, could not be losers by this servitude, the kings have found it the more easy to carry their designs into execution, especially as they were always concealed under pretence of political advantage, and even of alleviating the burden of the people. The jealousy excited by a great inequality of conditions and fortunes, hath favoured every scheme that tended to aggrandize the regal authority. The princes have had the art to engage the attention of the people, sometimes by wars abroad, sometimes by religious disputes at home; to suffer the minds of
men

men to be divided by opinions, and their hearts B O O K
by different interests; to excite and keep up jea- XIX.
lousies between the several ranks of the state; to
flatter alternately each party with an appearance
of favour, and to satisfy the natural envy of the
people by the depression of them all. The mul-
titude, reduced to poverty, and become the ob-
jects of contempt, having seen all-powerful bo-
dies brought low one after another, have at least
loved in their monarch the enemy of their ene-
mies.

THE nation, though by inadvertency it has lost
the privilege of governing itself, has not, however,
submitted to all the outrages of despotism. This
arises from the loss of it's liberty not having been
the effect of a tumultuous and sudden revolution,
but gradually brought about in a succession of se-
veral ages. The national character which hath
always influenced the princes as well as the
court, if it were only by means of the women,
hath established a sort of balance of power: and
thus it is that polite manners having tempered the
exertion of force, and softened the opposition
that might be made to it, have prevented those
sudden and violent commotions, from whence
results either monarchical tyranny, or popular
liberty.

INCONSISTENCE, as natural to the minds of a
gay and lively people as it is to children, hath
fortunately prevailed over the systems of some de-
spotic ministers. Kings have been too fond of
pleasure, and too conversant with the real source
of it, not to be induced frequently to lay aside
the iron sceptre, which would have terrified the
people, and prevented them from indulging in
those frivolous amusements to which they were
addicted. The spirit of intrigue, which hath ever
prevailed among them, since the nobles have been
invited

BOOK
XIX.

THE Venetian Lagoon at first neither made a part of the same city, nor of the same republic. United by one general commercial interest, or rather by the necessity of defending themselves, they were, however, divided into as many separate governments as islands, each subject to its respective tribune.

From the plurality of chiefs, contentions arose, and the public good was consequently sacrificed. These people, therefore, in order to constitute one body, chose a prince, who, under the title of duke or Doge, enjoyed for a considerable time all the rights of sovereignty, of which he only now retains the signs. These Doges were elected by the people till 1173: at that period the nobles arrogated to themselves the exclusive privilege of appointing the chief of the republic; they seized upon the authority, and formed an aristocracy.

Those political writers who have given the preference to this kind of government, have said, with some shew of reason, that all societies, in whatever way they may have been formed, have been governed in this manner. If in democratic states the people were to settle their administration themselves, they would necessarily fall into extravagances; and they are therefore obliged, for their own preservation, to submit to a senate, more or less numerous. If in monarchies, kings pretended to see every thing with their own eyes, and to do every thing themselves, nothing would either be seen or done; and it hath therefore been necessary to have recourse to councils, to preserve empires from a stagnation, more fatal, perhaps, than a state of action ill conducted. Every thing, therefore, may be traced to the authority of many, and of a small number; every thing is conducted according to the principles of aristocracy.

But,

BUT, in the monarchical form of government, BOOK
XIX.
command is not settled in one class of citizens, and obedience in the rest; the road to honours and to employments is open to every one who hath the necessary talents to obtain them; the nobles are not every thing, and the people nothing. Substitute aristocracy to this form of government, and we shall find nothing but slavery and despotism.

VENICE, in it's origin, tempered as much as possible the defects of this odious and unjust government. The several branches of power were distributed and balanced with remarkable accuracy. Prudent and severe laws were enacted, to suppress and strike awe into the ambition of the nobles. The great reigned without disturbance, and with a kind of equality, as the stars shine in the firmament amidst the silence of the night. They were obliged outwardly to conform to the customs of the several orders of the republic, in order that the distinction between patricians and plebeians might become less odious. The hope even of sharing, in process of time, the rights of sovereignty, was extended to those who from rank were excluded from it, if by their services, and their industry, they should one day acquire consideration and riches.

THIS was the only regular form of government then existing in Europe. Such an advantage raised the Venetians to great opulence; enabled them to keep armies in their pay; and imparted to them that knowledge which made them a political people, before any of the rest were. They reigned over the seas; they had a manifest preponderance in the continent; they formed or dissipated leagues, according as it suited their interest.

WHEN the commerce of the republic was ruined, by the discovery of the New World, and of

BOOK
XIX.

the passage to India, through the Cape of Good Hope, it was deprived of every advantage which had given it grandeur, strength, and courage. To those illusions, which in some measure console the subjects for the loss of their liberty, were substituted the seduction of voluptuousness, pleasures, and effeminacy. The great grew corrupt as well as the people, the women as well as the men, the priests as well as the laymen, and licentiousness knew no bounds. Venice became the country upon the earth where there were fewer facitious vices and virtues.

IN proportion as the minds, the dispositions, and the power of men became enervated within, it was a necessary consequence that less vigour, and less exertion should shew itself without. Accordingly the republic fell into the most pusillanimous circumspection. They assumed and added still more to the national character of Italy, which is jealousy and mistrust. With one halt of the treasures and care which it hath cost them to maintain that neutrality they have observed for two centuries past, they would perhaps have freed themselves for ever from the dangers to which their very precautions have exposed them.

THE republic doth not appear to be in a state of tranquillity, notwithstanding all the cares that have been taken for it's security. It's anxiety is manifested by the principles of it's government, which become constantly more severe by the extreme horror of every thing that is in the least elevated, by the aversion which it shews for reason, the use of which it considers as a crime, by the mysterious and dark veils with which it conceals it's operations, by the precaution which it constantly takes to place foreign commanders at the head of it's feeble troops, and to appoint inspectors over them; by the forbidding, in-

discriminately, all those who are it's subjects, to go and inure themselves to war in the field of battle; by it's informers; by all the refinements of insidious policy, and by various other means which discover continual apprehensions and alarms. It seems to place it's chief confidence in an inquisitor, who is continually prying about amongst individuals, with the ax raised over the head of any one who shall venture to disturb public order by his actions, or by his discourses.

EVERY thing, however, is not censurable in Venice. The impost which supplies the treasury with 25,000,000 of livres*, hath neither increased nor diminished since the year 1707. Every method is taken to conceal from the citizens the idea of their slavery, and to make them easy and cheerful. The form of worship is replete with ceremonies. There are no great festivals without public spectacles and music. One may say and do what one chooses at Venice, if one does not speak in public, either of politics or of religion. A Christian orator preaching before the chiefs of the republic, imagined that he ought to begin his discourse with an eulogium of the government; immediately a satellite was dispatched to take him out of his pulpit; and being the next day summoned to appear before the tribunal of the state inquisitors, he was told: *What need have we of your encomiums? Be more cautious.* They were well aware, that an administration is soon censured in every place where it is allowed to be extolled. The state inquisitors do not retain their functions longer than eighteen months. They are chosen from among the most moderate persons, and the least act of injustice is followed by their deposition. They address all men in the familiar mode of the second person, and would

* 1,041,666l. 13s. 4d.

BOOK

XIX.

even adopt it in speaking to the doge. Any person who is summoned before them is obliged to appear without delay. A secretary of state was not excused by alleging the necessity of finishing his dispatches. It is true, that the doors are shut while causes are trying; but these causes of alarm to foreigners, are the real protection of the people, and the counterpoize to the tyranny of the aristocratic body. About six years ago it was deliberated in council, whether this formidable tribunal should not be abolished, and immediately the most wealthy citizens were preparing to withdraw themselves, and a neighbouring king foretold, that Venice would not exist ten years longer after the suppression of this magistracy. Accordingly, were it not for the terror with which it inspires the citizens, they would be incessantly exposed to vexations from a number of patricians who languish in indigence. After some violent contests, the inquisition was confirmed by a majority of votes, and the four persons who had moved the debate were punished only by assigning to them honourable employments, which kept them at a distance from the republic.

DURING the carnival, monks and priests go to the public diversions in masks. It is well known, that a degraded ecclesiastic can have no influence. A patrician, who is become either monk or priest, is no more than a common citizen. The horror of executions is kept up by the unfrequency of them. The people are persuaded that the devils are flying about the gibbet to seize upon the souls of the persons executed. A capuchin friar once thought of saying, that *of a hundred drowned persons no one would be saved, and that of a hundred persons executed on the gallows not one would be damned*. As it was of consequence to the Venetians that
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one should not fear being drowned, but that one should fear being hanged, the preacher had orders to teach the contrary, notwithstanding the authority of St. Austin. BOOK
XIX.

If the naval forces of the Venetians are commanded by a patrician alone, it is only since the celebrated Morosini, admiral of their fleet at the expedition of the Peloponnesus, told them, that it had been in his power to starve them. If the land forces can only be commanded by a foreign general, it is from the just apprehension, that a citizen, might take advantage of the affection of the soldiers to become the tyrant of his country.

THERE are a multitude of magistrates placed at the head of different affairs, which must accelerate the dispatch of them. The doge may solicit and obtain favours, but he cannot grant any. There are preservers of the laws, to whom the new regulations proposed by the senate to the council are referred. They examine them and make their reports to the council, who decide accordingly. The council therefore represents the republic, the senate the legislative body subordinate to the council, and the state inquisitor is a kind of tribune to protect the people.

AN inquisitor is not, in my opinion, a very tremendous person, since it is possible to punish him when he becomes insolent. There is no such thing to be found in France as a sheriff's officer, who would venture to deliver a summons to a magistrate of a superior order. At Venice a legal proceeding may be carried on against either a patrician or an inquisitor. Their goods may be sold, their persons seized, and they may be thrown into prison.

THE Venetian ministry have obscure agents in all the courts, by whom they are informed of the character of the men in favour, and the means

BOOK means 'of seducing them; they support themselves by their cunning. There is another republic which derives it's strength, and supports itself by it's form and it's courage, and that is Switzerland.

XIX.

THE Switzers, known in antiquity by the name of Helvetians, were, as the Gauls and the Britons, only to be subdued by Cæsar, who was the greatest of the Romans, if he had been more attached to his country. They were united to Germany, as a Roman province, under the reign of Honorius. Revolutions, which are frequent and easily accomplished in such a country as the Alps, divided colonies, that were separated by large lakes or great mountains, into several baronies. The most considerable of these, occupied by the House of Austria, in process of time seized upon all the rest. Conquest introduced slavery, oppression excited the people to revolt, and thus liberty arose from an unbounded exertion of tyranny.

THERE are now thirteen cantons of robust peasants, who defend almost all the kings of Europe, and fear none; who are better acquainted with their real interests than any other nation; and who constitute the most sensible people in all modern political states. These thirteen cantons compose among themselves, not a republic as the seven provinces of Holland, nor a simple confederacy as the Germanic body, but rather a league, a natural association of so many independent republics. Each canton has it's respective sovereignty, it's alliances, and it's treaties separate. The general diet cannot make laws or regulations for either of them.

THE three most ancient cantons are immediately connected with each of the others. It is from this union of convenience, not of constitution, that, if one of the thirteen cantons were attacked,

attacked, all the rest would march to it's assistance. B O O XIX.
 But there is no common alliance between the whole body and each particular canton. Thus the branches of a tree are united among themselves, without having an immediate connection with the common trunk.

THE union of the Switzers' was, however, indissoluble till the beginning of the 16th century; when religion, which ought to be the bond of peace and charity, disunited them. The reformation caused a separation of the Helvetic body, and the state was divided by the church. All public affairs are transacted in the separate and particular diets of the catholic and protestant parties. The general diets are assembled only to preserve the appearance of union. Notwithstanding this source of discord, Switzerland has enjoyed peace much more than any state in Europe.

UNDER the Austrian government, oppression and the raising of troops impeded population. After the revolution, there was too great an increase of the number of people in proportion to the barrenness of the land. The Helvetic body could not be enlarged without endangering it's safety, unless it made some excursions abroad. The inhabitants of these mountains, as the torrents that pour down from them, were to spread themselves in the plains that border upon the Alps. These people would have destroyed each other, had they remained sequestered among themselves. But ignorance of the arts, the want of materials for manufactures, and the deficiency of money, prevented the importation of foreign merchandise, and excluded them from the means of procuring the comforts of life, and of encouraging industry. They drew even from their increase of numbers, a method of subsisting and acquiring

B O O Acquiring riches, a source, and an object of
 XIX. trade.

THE duke of Milan, master of a rich country open on every side to invasion, and not easily defended, was in want of soldiers. The Switzers, who were his most powerful neighbours, must necessarily become his enemies, if they were not his allies, or rather his protectors. A kind of traffic was therefore set on foot between these people and the Milanese, in which men were bartered for riches. The nation engaged troops successively in the service of France, of the emperor, of the pope, of the duke of Savoy, and all the potentates of Italy. They sold their blood to the most distant powers, and to the nations most in enmity with each other; to Holland, to Spain, and to Portugal; as if these mountains were nothing more than a repository of arms and soldiers, open to every one who wanted to purchase the means of carrying on war.

EACH canton treats with that power which offers the most advantageous terms. The subjects of the country are at liberty to engage in war at a distance, with an allied nation. The Hollander is, by the constitution of his country, a citizen of the world; the Switzer, by the same circumstance, a destroyer of Europe. The profits of Holland are in proportion to the degree of cultivation, and the consumption of merchandise; the prosperity of Switzerland increases in proportion to the number of battles that are fought, and the slaughter that attends them.

It is by war, that calamity inseparable from mankind, whether in a state of civilization or not, that the republics of the Helvetic body are obliged to live and subsist. It is by this that they preserve a number of inhabitants within their country proportioned to the extent and fertility of their lands, without

without forcing any of the springs of government, or restraining the inclinations of any individual. It is by the traffic of troops with the powers at war with each other, that Switzerland has not been under the necessity of making sudden emigrations, which are the cause of invasions, and of attempting conquests, which would have occasioned the loss of it's liberty, as it caused the subversion of all the republics of Greece.

As far as human foresight can penetrate into futurity, the state of these people must be more permanent than that of all other nations, if differences in their form of worship do not become fatal to them. From the top of their barren mountains, they behold, groaning under the oppression of tyranny, whole nations which nature hath placed in more plentiful countries, while they enjoy in peace the fruits of their labour, of their frugality, of their moderation, and of all the virtues that attend upon liberty. If it were possible that habit could blunt their sensibility for so mild a destiny, it would be incessantly revived in them by that multitude of travellers who resort there to enjoy the sight of that felicity which is not to be seen elsewhere. Undoubtedly, the love of riches hath somewhat altered that amiable simplicity of manners, in such of the cantons where the arts and commerce have made any considerable progress; but the features of their primitive character are not entirely effaced, and they still retain a kind of happiness unknown to other men. Can it be apprehended that a nation may grow tired of such an existence?

The weight of taxes cannot alter the advantages of this destiny. These scourges of the human race are unknown in most of the cantons, and in the rest they amount to little or nothing. In some places only, a dangerous abuse hath been intro-

BOOK

XIX.

introduced. Administrators, known under the title of bailiffs, take upon themselves to impose in their own jurisdiction arbitrary fines, which they make use of for their own private benefit. This extravagance of the feudal laws cannot last, and every vestige will soon be lost of so odious a custom, which in process of time would affect the public felicity.

THE nation will never be disturbed by it's propensities, which naturally lead it to order, tranquillity, and harmony. If any turbulent or dangerous characters are to be found there, who may be fond of factions and tumults, they mix in foreign wars to endeavour to gratify this restless disposition.

It is not possible that the several cantons should attempt reciprocally to subdue each other. Those in which democracy is established, are too feeble to conceive so unreasonable a project; and in the others, the patricians and plebeians will never unite their wishes and their exertions for an aggrandizement, the consequences of which might become fatal to one of the orders.

THE tranquillity of the Helvetic body is still less in danger from their neighbours than from their citizens. As in the disputes between crowned heads, the Swiss observe a very impartial neutrality, and as they never become guarantees of any engagement, they are not known to have any enemies. If any power should think it had a cause of complaint against them, it would stifle it's resentment from the well-grounded apprehension of miscarrying in it's projects of revenge against a country entirely military, and which reckons as many soldiers as men. If even it were certain of conquering them, they would never be attacked, because the blinded and most violent policy doth not exterminate a people to take possession

session of nothing but rocks. Such are the motives which induce us to believe in the stability of the republic of Switzerland. BOOK
XIX.

It now remains that we speak of the ecclesiastical government. If the foundation of Christianity presents us with a scene that astonishes the mind, the history of the revolutions in the government of the church is not less surprising. What an enormous difference is there between St. Peter, a poor fisherman, on the borders of the lake of Genesareth, and servant of the servants of God; and some of his proud successors, their brows girt with the triple crown, masters of Rome, and of a great part of Italy, and calling themselves the Kings of the Kings of the earth! Let us trace things up to their origin; and let us take a rapid view of the splendour and of the corruption of the church. Let us see what its government is become in the space of eighteen centuries; and let present and future sovereigns learn what they are to expect from the priesthood, the sole principle of which is to render the authority of the magistrates subordinate to the divine authority, of which it is the depositary.

In an obscure village of Judea, and in the house of a poor carpenter, there arose a man of austere morals. His candour was disgusted with the hypocrisy of the priests of his time. He had discovered the vanity of legal ceremonies, and the vice of expiations; at thirty years of age this virtuous person quitted his employment, and began to preach his opinions. The multitude, from the villages and country places flocked around him, listened to him, and followed him. He associated to himself a small number of disciples, ignorant and weak men, taken from the lowest conditions of life. He wandered for some time about the capital, and at length ventured to appear

B O O K

XIX.

appear there. One of his own disciples betrayed him, and the other denied him. He was taken up, accused of blasphemy, and crucified between two thieves. After his death his disciples appeared in the public places and in the great cities, at Antioch, at Alexandria, and at Rome. They announced, both to barbarous and civilized people, at Athens and at Corinth, the resurrection of their Master; and the belief of their doctrine, which seemed so contrary to reason, was universally adopted. In all parts corrupt men embraced a system of morality, austere in its principles, and unsociable in its councils. Persecution arose; and the preachers, together with their converts, were imprisoned, scourged, and put to death. The more blood is spilt, the more doth the sect extend itself. In less than three centuries, the temples of idolatry are subverted, or abandoned; and notwithstanding the hatred, heresies, schisms, and sanguinary quarrels, which have torn Christianity since its origin, even down to our latter times; yet there are scarce any altars remaining, except such as are raised to the man God, who died upon a cross.

It was no difficult matter to demonstrate to the Pagans the absurdity of their worship; and in all general, as well as particular disputes, if we can prove that our adversary is in the wrong, he immediately concludes that we are in the right. Providence, which tends to the accomplishment of its designs by all sorts of means, intended that this mode of reasoning should lead men into the way of salvation. The founder of Christianity did not arrogate to himself any authority either over the partners of his mission, or over his followers, or over his fellow-citizens. He respected the authority of Cæsar. When he saved the life of an adulterous woman, he

he took care not to attack the law which condemned her to death. He referred two brothers, who were at variance concerning the division of an inheritance, to the civil tribunal. When persecuted, he suffered persecution. In the midst of intolerant persons, he recommended toleration. *You shall not, said he to his disciples, command fire to come down from heaven upon the head of the unbeliever; you shall shake off the very dust from your feet, and you shall retire:* Fastened to a cross, his head crowned with thorns, his side pierced with a spear, he said to God: *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do.* To instruct and to baptize the nations, was the object of the mission of the apostles; to employ persuasion and not violence; to go about in the same manner God had sent his Son, such were the means employed for the purpose. Priesthood hath in no time conformed itself to such maxims; and yet religion hath not been the less prosperous.

IN proportion as the new doctrine gained ground, a kind of hierarchy was instituted among it's ministers, consisting of bishops, priests, acolytes, and sacristans, or porters. The objects of the administration itself, included doctrine, discipline, and morals. To confer sacred orders, was the first act of the jurisdiction of the church. To set persons free, or to bind them, and to appoint a spiritual and voluntary-expiation for offences, was the second. To excommunicate the rebellious sinner, or the heretic, was the third; and the fourth, which is common to every association, was to institute rules of discipline. These rules, at first kept secret, and which were chiefly on the administration of the sacraments, were made public. Assemblies, or councils, were holden. The bishops were the representatives of the

B O O K the apostles; the rest of the clergy were subordinate to them. Nothing was decided without the concurrence of the faithful; so that this was a true Democracy. Civil matters were referred to the arbitration of the bishops. The Christians were blamed for having law-suits; and still more for exposing themselves to be brought before the magistrate. It is probable that property was in common, and that the bishop disposed of it at pleasure.

XIX. **HITHERTO** every thing was conducted without the interference of the secular power. But under Aurelian, the Christians applied to the Emperor for justice against Paul of Samosata. Constantine banished Arius, and condemned his writings to the flames; Theodosius persecuted Nestorius; and these innovations fixed the period of the second state of ecclesiastical jurisdiction: when it had now deviated from it's primitive simplicity, and was become a mixture of spiritual power and coercive authority. The faithful, already extremely numerous, in the second century, were distributed in different churches subject to the same administration. Among these churches, there were some more or less considerable; secular authority interfered in the election of bishops, and the confusion between these two powers increased. There were some poor, and some rich among them, and this was the first origin of the ambition of the clergy. There were indigent believers among them all; and the bishops became the dispensers of the alms: and this is the most ancient source of the corruption of the church.

WHAT a rapid progress hath ecclesiastical authority made since the end of the third century! Proceedings are carried on before the bishops; and they become the arbiters in civil matters.

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The judicial sentence of the bishops admits of no appeal; and the execution of it is referred to the magistrates. The trial of a priest cannot be carried out of the province. A distinction arises between civil and ecclesiastical crimes, and this gives birth to the privilege of the clergy. The appeal to the sovereign is allowed, if it should happen that the sentence of the bishop should be invalidated at the tribunal of the magistrates. Long before these concessions, the bishops had obtained the inspection over the police, and the morals; they took cognizance of prostitutions, foundlings, guardianships, lunatics, and minors; they visited the prisons; they solicited the enlargement of the prisoners; they denounced the negligent judges to the sovereign; they interfered with the disposal of the public money; with the construction and repairing of the great roads, and other edifices. Thus it is, that under pretence of assisting each other, the two authorities were blended, and paved the way for the dissensions which were one day to arise between them. Such was in the first centuries, in the prosperous days of the church, the third state of its government, HALF CIVIL, HALF ECCLESIASTICAL, to which, at present, we scarcely know what name to give. Was it from the weakness of the emperors, from their fear, from intrigue or from sanctity of manners, that the chiefs of Christianity conciliated to themselves so many important prerogatives? At that time religious terror had peopled the deserts with Anchorets, more than seventy-six thousand of whom were reckoned; this was a nursery of deacons, priests, and bishops.

CONSTANTINE transferred the seat of empire to Byzantium. Rome was no more its capital. The barbarians, who had taken it more than
once,

BOOK
XIX.

once, and ravaged it, were converted. It was the fate of Christianity, which had conquered the gods of the Capitol, to subdue the destroyers of the throne of the Cæsars; but in changing their religion, these chiefs of hords did not change their manners. What strange kind of Christians were Clovis and his successors, exclaims the author of the history of the church! Notwithstanding the analogy between the ecclesiastical and the feudal government, it would be an illusion to make one the model of the other. Literature was no longer cultivated; and the priests employed the little knowledge they had preserved, in forging titles; and in fabricating legends. The harmony between the two powers was disturbed. The origin and the riches of the bishops attached the Romans, who neither had nor could have, any thing but contempt and aversion for their new masters; some of whom were Pagans, others Heretics, and all of them ferocious. No man ever doubted of the donation of Constantine; and that of Pepin was confirmed by Charlemagne. The grandeur of the bishops of Rome increased under Lewis the Debonnaire, and under Otho. They arrogated that sovereignty which their benefactors had reserved for themselves. Like other potentates, they founded their claim upon proscription. The church was already infested with pernicious maxims; and the opinion that, the bishop of Rome might depose kings, was universally adopted. Different causes afterwards concurred in establishing the supremacy of this see over the rest. The prince of the apostles had been the first bishop of Rome. Rome was the center of union between all the other churches, the indigence of which she relieved. She had been the capital of the world; and the Christians were not so numerous any where else. The title of

of pope was a title common to all bishops, over whom the bishop of Rome did not obtain the superiority, till the end of the eleventh century. At that time ecclesiastical government tended not only to MONARCHY, but had even advanced towards UNIVERSAL MONARCHY.

TOWARDS the end of the eighth century, the famous decretals of Isidorus of Seville appeared! The pope announced himself to be infallible. He withdrew himself from his former submission to the councils. He held in his hand two swords; one the emblem of his spiritual, the other of his temporal power. Discipline was no more. The priests were the slaves of the pope; and kings were his vassals. He required tributes from them; he abolished the ancient judges, and appointed new ones. He created primates. The clergy were exempted from all civil jurisdiction; and Gratian the monk, by his decree, completed the mischief occasioned by the decretals. The clergy employed themselves in augmenting their income, by every possible mode. The possession of their estates, was declared immutable and sacred. Men were terrified with temporal, as well as spiritual threats. Tithes were exacted. A traffic was made of relics; and pilgrimages were encouraged. This completed the destruction of morality, and the last stroke was thus given to the discipline of the church. A criminal life was expiated by a wandering one. Events were construed into the judgments of God; and decisions by water, by fire, or by the destiny of the saints, were adopted. The folly of judiciary astrology was added to superstitious opinions. Such was the state of the Western church. AN ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM, with all it's atrocious characters.

BOOK

XIV.

THE Eastern church experienced also its calamities. The Grecian empire had been dismembered by the Arabian Mussulmen, by modern Scythians, by the Bulgarians, and by the Russians. These last were not amended by being washed with the waters of baptism. Mohammedism deprived Christianity of part of its followers, and threw the rest into slavery. In the West, the Barbarians converted to Christianity, had carried their manners along with them into the church. In the East, the Greeks had become depraved by their commercial intercourse with a race of men perfectly similar. Nevertheless, literature seemed to revive, under the learned and vicious Photius. While the clergy of the East were striving against ignorance, our clergy in the West became hunters, and warriors, and were possessed of lordships subject to military service. Bishops and monks marched under standards, massacred, and were massacred. The privileges of their domains had engaged them in public affairs. They wandered about with the ambulatory courts; they assisted at the national assemblies, which were become parliaments, or councils; and this was the period of entire confusion between the two powers. Then it was that the bishops pretended openly to be the judges of sovereigns; that Vamba was compelled to do penance, invested with a monk's habit, and deposed; that the right of reigning was contested to Lewis the Debonnaire; that the popes interfered in the quarrels between nations, not as mediators but as despots; that Adrian II. forbade Charles the Bald to invade the states of his nephew Clotaire; and that Gregory IX. wrote to St. Lewis in these terms: *We have condemned Frederick II., who called himself Emperor, and have deposed*

deposed him, and we have elected in his stead Count Robert, your brother. BOOK
XIX

BUT if the clergy inroached upon the rights of the temporal power, the lay lords appointed, and installed priests, without the participation of the bishops, regular benefices were given to seculars, and the convents were pillaged. Neither incontinence nor simony excited any shame. Bishopricks were sold. Abbeyes purchased. Priests had either a wife or a concubine. The public temples were forsaken, and this disorder brought on the abuse and contempt of censures, which were poured forth against kings, and against their subjects, and torrents of blood were shed in all countries. The church, and the empire, were then in a state of ANARCHY. Pilgrimages were preludes to the crusades, or the expiation for crimes and assassinations. Ecclesiastics of all orders, believers of all ranks, enlisted themselves. Persons loaded with debts were dispensed from paying them, malefactors escaped the pursuit of the laws, corrupt monks broke through the restraints of their solitude, dissolute husbands forsook their wives. Courtesans exercised their infamous trade, at the foot of the sepulchre of their God, and near to the tent of their sovereign. But it was impossible to carry on this expedition, and the succeeding ones, without funds. An impost was levied, and this gave rise to the claims of the pope upon all the estates of the church, to the institution of a multitude of military orders, to the alternative given to the vanquished, of slavery, or of embracing Christianity, of death, or of baptism, and to console the reader for so many calamities, this circumstance occasioned the increase of navigation and commerce, which enriched Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Florence, the decline of the feudal government, by

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BOOK
XIX.

the disorder in the fortunes of the noblemen, and the habit of the sea, which, perhaps, paved the way from afar for the discovery of the New World. But I have not the courage to pursue any further the account of the disorders, and of the exorbitant increase of papal authority. Under Innocent III. there was no more than one tribunal in the world, and that was at Rome; there was but one master, and he was at Rome, from whence he reigned over Europe by his legates. The ecclesiastical hierarchy extended itself one step further, by the creation of cardinals. Nothing was now wanting to the despot but Janisaries; whom he acquired by creating a multitude of monastic orders. Rome, formerly the mistress of the world by arms, became so by opinion. But why did the popes, who were all-powerful over the minds of men, forget to maintain the terrors of their spiritual thunder, by directing it only against ambitious or unjust sovereigns? Who knows whether this kind of tribunal, so much wished for, to which crowned heads might be summoned, would not have existed to this day in Rome, and whether the threats of one common father, supported by general superstition, might not have put an end to every military contest?

THE papal militia, composed of monks, who were laborious and austere in their origin, became corrupted. The bishops, tired out with the enterprises of the legates, of the secular magistrates, and of the monks, over their jurisdiction, encroached, on their parts, upon the secular jurisdiction, with a degree of boldness of which it is difficult to form an idea. If the clergy could have determined to erect gibbets, perhaps we should at present be under a government entirely sacerdotal. It is the maxim, that *the church ab-*
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horrors the effusion of blood, which has preserved us from it. There were schools in France and in Italy; and those at Paris were famous towards the eleventh century. The number of colleges was increased; and nevertheless this state of the church, which we have described without malice, or exaggeration, was continued in all Christian countries, from the ninth to the fourteenth century, an interval of four or five hundred years. The emperors have lost Italy, and the popes have acquired a great temporal power. No one hath yet raised himself against their spiritual power. The interests of this sovereign are embraced by all the Italians. The dignity of episcopacy is eclipsed by that of cardinal, and the secular clergy were always ruled by the regular clergy. Venice alone hath known and defended it's rights. The irruption of the Moors in Spain, hath thrown Christianity there into an abject state, from which it hath scarce emerged, for these two last centuries; and even down to our days, the inquisition displays it under the most hideous aspect. The inquisition, a terrible tribunal, a tribunal insulting to the spirit of Jesus Christ. A tribunal, which ought to be detested by sovereigns, by bishops, by magistrates, and by subjects. By sovereigns, whom it ventures to threaten, and whom it hath sometimes cruelly persecuted; by bishops, whose jurisdiction it annihilates; by the magistrates, whose legitimate authority it usurps; by the subjects, whom it keeps in continual terror; whom it reduces to silence, and condemns to stupidity; from the danger that attends their acquiring instruction, their reading, their writing, and their speaking; a tribunal which hath only owed it's institution, and which only owes it's continuance, in those regions where it is still maintained, to a

BOOK
XIX.

sacri-

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 XIX. sacrilegious policy, jealous of perpetuating prejudices and prerogatives, which could not have been discussed, without being dispelled.

BEFORE the schism of Henry VIII. England was subject to the pope, even in temporal concerns. London shook off the yoke of Rome; but this reformation was less the effect of reason than of passion. Germany hath been a continual scene of violence on both sides; and since the time of Luther, the Catholics, and Schismatics, have shewn themselves equally enthusiasts in that country, the former for papal tyranny, the latter for independence. Christianity was established in Poland, with all the claims of papal authority. In France the temporal power was considered as subordinate to the spiritual power. According to the sentiment of the favourers of the Tramon-tane opinions, this kingdom, as well as all the kingdoms of the earth, was subject to the church of Rome; it's princes might be excommunicated, and it's subjects freed from the oath of allegiance. But the papal colossus was shaken, and even since the fourteenth century it approached the instant of it's downfall. Then literature was revived; the ancient languages were cultivated; the first Hebrew grammar was printed, and the Royal College was founded. Towards the middle of the fifteenth century, the art of printing was invented. A multitude of writings of all kinds were drawn out of the dust of monastic libraries, to be diffused among the people. The vulgar tongue was improved, and translations were made. The sovereign, and individuals, collected great libraries. The decrees of the councils, the fathers, and the holy scriptures were read. The canon law was attended to, and the history of the church was investigated. The spirit of criticism arose, and the apocryphal

apocryphal books were detected; while inspired writings were restored to their original purity. The eyes of the sovereigns and of the clergy were opened, and they were enlightened by religious disputes. The origin of immunities, exemptions, and privileges, was traced, and the futility of them was demonstrated. Ancient times were searched into, and their discipline compared to modern customs. The hierarchy of the church resumed it's influence, and the two powers withdrew into their respective limits. The decisions of the church resumed their efficacy; and if papal tyranny hath not been extinguished in France, it is at least confined within very narrow bounds. In 1681, the clergy of that kingdom decided, that temporal power was independent of spiritual power, and that the pope was subject to the canons of the church. If the mission of the priest be of divine right; if it belong to him to set men free, and to enclose them in bonds, can he not excommunicate the impenitent sinner, or the heretic, whether he be a sovereign or a private man? According to our principles, this is a power that cannot be denied to him: but prudent men perceived, in this violent proceeding, such mischievous consequences, that they have declared it was scarce ever to be referred to. Doth excommunication involve the deposition of the sovereign, and disengage the subjects from their oath of allegiance? It would be high-treason to suppose it. Hence we see, that the ecclesiastical government, at least, in France, hath passed on, from the *tyranny of anarchy, to a kind of moderate arbitrary.*

BUT if I might be allowed to explain myself upon a matter so important, I should venture to say, that neither in England, nor in the countries of Germany, of the United Provinces, and of the North,

BOOK XIX. North, the true principles have been traced. Had they been better known, how much blood and how many troubles they would have spared; the blood of Pagans, Heretics, and Christians; since the first origin of natural forms of worship to the present day; and how much would they spare in future, if the rulers of the earth were prudent and steady enough to conform to them?

It appears to me, that the state is not made for religion, but religion for the state; this is the first principle.

THE general interest is the universal rule that ought to prevail in a state: this is the second principle.

THE people, or the sovereign authority, depositary of their's, have alone the right to judge of the conformity of any institution whatever with the general interest. This is the third principle.

THESE three principles appear to me incontrovertibly evident; and the propositions that follow, are no more than corollaries deduced from them.

It therefore belongs to this authority, and to this authority alone, to examine the tenets and the discipline of religion. The tenets, in order to ascertain, whether, being contrary to common sense, they will not expose the public tranquillity to commotions, so much the more dangerous, as the ideas of future happiness will be complicated with zeal for the glory of God; and with submission to truths, which will be considered as revealed. The discipline, to observe whether it doth not clash with the prevailing manners, extinguish the spirit of patriotism, damp the ardour of courage, occasion an aversion for industry, for marriage, and for public affairs; whether it be
not

not injurious to population, and to the social state; whether it doth not inspire fanaticism, and a spirit of intoleration; whether it doth not sow the seeds of division between the relations of the same family, between families of the same city, between the cities of the same kingdom, and between the several kingdoms of the earth; whether it doth not diminish the respect due to the sovereign, and the magistrates, and whether it doth not inculcate maxims so austere as to occasion melancholy, or practices which lead on to extravagance.

THIS authority, and this authority alone, can therefore proscribe the established mode of worship, adopt a new one, or even abolish every form of worship, if it should find it convenient. The general form of government being always settled at the first minute of it's adoption; how is it possible that religion should give the law by it's antiquity?

THE state hath the supremacy in every thing. The distinction between a temporal and a spiritual power is a palpable absurdity; and there neither can, nor ought to be, any more than one sole and single jurisdiction, wherever it belongs, to public utility alone, to order, or to defend.

FOR every offence whatever there should be but one tribunal; for every guilty person but one prison; for every illegal action but one law. Every contrary claim is injurious to the equality of the citizens; every possession is an usurpation of the claimant, at the expence of the common interest.

THERE should be no other councils than the assembly of the ministers of the sovereign. When the administrators are assembled, the church is assembled. When the state has pronounced, the church has nothing more to say.

THERE

BOOK XIX. THERE should be no other canons, except the edicts of the princes, and the decree of the courts of judicature.

WHAT is a common offence, and a privileged offence, where there is but one law, and one public matter, between the citizens.

IMMUNITIES, and other exclusive privileges, are so many acts of injustice, exercised against the other ranks of society that are deprived of them.

A BISHOP, a priest, or a member of the clerical body, may quit his country, if he chooses it; but then he is nothing. It belongs to the state to watch over his conduct, to appoint and to remove him.

If we understand by a benefice, any thing more than the salary every citizen ought to reap from his labour, this is an abuse which requires a speedy reformation. The man who doth nothing hath no right to eat.

AND wherefore should not the priest acquire, enrich himself, enjoy, sell, buy, and make his will, as another citizen?

LET him be chaste, docile, humble, and even indigent; let him not be fond of women, let him be of a meek disposition, and let him prefer bread and water to all the conveniences of life; but let him be forbidden to bind himself to these observances by vows. The vow of chastity is repugnant to nature, and injurious to population; the vow of poverty is only that of a foolish, or of an idle man; the vow of obedience to any other than to the ruling power, and to the law, is that of a slave or of a rebel.

If there existed, therefore, in any district of a country, sixty thousand citizens bound by such vows, what could the sovereign do better, than to repair to the spot, with a sufficient number of satellites,

satellites, armed with whips, and to say to them BOOK
XIX.
Go forth, ye lazy wretches, go forth; go to the fields, to agriculture, to the manufactures, to the militia?

CHARITY is the common duty of all those whose property exceeds their absolute wants.

THE relief of old men, and of indigent and old persons, is the duty of the state they have served.

LET there be no other apostles but the legislator, and the magistrates.

LET there be no sacred writings, except those which they shall acknowledge as such.

LET there be no divine right, but the good of the republic.

I COULD extend these consequences to many other objects; but I stop here, protesting, that if in what I have said there should be any thing contrary to the good order of a well-regulated society, and to the felicity of the citizens, I retract: although I can scarce persuade myself, that the nations can become enlightened, and not be sensible one day of the truth of my principles. As for the rest, I forewarn my readers, that I have spoken only of the external forms of religion. With respect to internal religion, man is only accountable for it to God. It is a secret between man and him, who hath taken him out of nothing, and can plunge him into it again.

IF we now take a review of what has been said, we shall find, that all the governments of Europe are comprehended under some of the forms we have been describing, and are differently modelled according to the local situation, the degree of population, the extent of territory, the influence of opinions and occupations, and the external connections and vicissitudes of events that act upon the system of the body politic, as the impression of surrounding fluids does upon natural bodies.

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BOOK
XIX

WE are not to imagine, as it is often asserted, that all governments nearly resemble each other, and that the only difference between them consists in the character of those who govern. This maxim may, perhaps, be true in absolute governments, among such nations as have no principles of liberty. These take the turn the prince gives them; they are haughty, proud, and courageous, under a monarch who is active and fond of glory, indolent and stupid under a superstitious king, full of hopes and fears under a young prince, of weakness and corruption under an old despot, or rather alternately confident, and weak, under the several ministers who are raised by intrigue. In such states, government assumes the character of the administration; but in free states it is just the reverse.

WHATEVER may be said of the nature and springs of the different systems of government to which men are subject, the art of legislation being that which ought to be the most perfect, is also the most proper to employ men of the first genius. The science of government does not contain abstracted truths, or rather it has not one single principle which does not extend to all the branches of administration.

THE state is a very complicated machine, which cannot be wound up or set in motion without a thorough knowledge of all its component parts. If any one of the parts be too much straitened or relaxed, the whole must be in disorder. Every project that may be beneficial to a certain number of citizens, or in critical times, may become fatal to the whole nation, and prejudicial for a long continuance. If we destroy or change the nature of any great body, those convulsive motions which are called strokes of state, will disturb the whole nation, which may, perhaps, feel the effects

effects of them for ages to come. All innovations B O O K
ought to be brought about insensibly; they should XIX.
arise from necessity, be the result, as it were, of
the public clamour, or at least agree with the
general wishes. To abolish old customs, or to
introduce new ones on a sudden, tends only to
increase that which is bad, and to prevent the ef-
fect of that which is good. To act without con-
sulting the will of the generality, without collect-
ing, as it were, the majority of votes in the pub-
lic opinions, is to alienate the hearts and minds of
men, and to bring every thing into discredit, even
what is honest and good.

It would be a desirable thing in Europe, that
the sovereigns, convinced of the necessity of im-
proving the science of government, should imitate
a custom established in China. In this empire,
the ministers are distinguished into two classes,
the *thinkers*, and the *signers*. While the latter are
employed in the arrangement and dispatch of
public affairs, the first attend only to the forming
of projects, or to the examination of such as are
presented to them. According to the admirers of
the Chinese government, this is the source of all
those judicious regulations, which establish in
those regions the most enlightened systems of le-
gislation, together with the most prudent admini-
stration. All Asia is subject to a despotic govern-
ment; but in Turkey and Persia, it is a despotism
of opinion by means of religion; in China, it is
the despotism of the laws by the influence of rea-
son. Among the Mohammedans, they believe
in the divine authority of the prince; among the
Chinese, they believe in natural authority, found-
ed upon the law of reason. But in these empires
it is conviction that influences the will.

In the happy state of policy and knowledge to
which Europe hath attained, it is plain that this
conviction

BOOK
XIX.

conviction of the mind, which produces a free, easy and general obedience, can proceed from nothing but a certain evidence of the utility of the laws. If the governments will not pay *thinkers*, who may, perhaps, become suspicious or corrupt as soon as they are mercenary; let them, at least, allow men of superior understandings to watch in some measure over the public good. Every writer of genius is born a magistrate of his country; and he ought to enlighten it as much as it is in his power. His abilities give him a right to do it. Whether he be an obscure or a distinguished citizen, whatever be his rank or birth, his mind, which is always noble, derives its claims from his talents. His tribunal is the whole nation; his judge is the public, not the despot who does not hear him, nor the minister who will not attend to him.

ALL these truths have, doubtless, their boundaries; but it is always more dangerous to suppress the freedom of thought, than to leave it to its bent or impetuosity. Reason and truth triumph over those daring and violent minds, which are roused only by restraint, and irritated only by persecution. Kings and ministers, love your people, love mankind, and ye will be happy. Ye will have then no reason to fear men of free sentiments or unsatisfied minds, nor the revolt of bad men. The revolt of the heart is much more dangerous; for virtue, when soured, and roused into indignation, is guilty of the most atrocious acts. Cato and Brutus were both virtuous: they were reduced to the alternative of choosing between two great enormities, suicide, or the death of Cæsar.

REMEMBER that the interests of government and those of the nation are the same. Whoever attempts

attempts to separate them, is unacquainted with their true nature, and will only injure them.

BOOK
XIX.

AUTHORITY divides this great interest, when the wills of individuals are substituted to the established order. The laws, and those alone, ought to have the sway. This universal rule is not a yoke for the citizens, but a power which protects them, and a watchfulness which insures their tranquillity. They think themselves free; and this opinion, which constitutes their happiness, determines their submission. If the arbitrary caprices of a turbulent and enterprising administrator should subvert this fortunate system, the people, who from habit, prejudice, or self-love, are generally inclined to consider the government under which they live as the best of all possible governments, are deprived of this illusion, to which nothing can be substituted.

AUTHORITY divides this great interest, when it obstinately perseveres in any error into which it hath fallen. Let it not be blinded by a foolish pride, and it will perceive that those changes, which bring it back to what is true and good, far from weakening its springs, will strengthen them. To be undeceived with respect to a dangerous mistake, is not to contradict one's self; it is not to display to the people the inconstancy of government; it is to demonstrate to them its wisdom and its uprightness. If their respect were to diminish, it would be for that power which would never know its mistakes, or would always justify them; and not for those who would avow and correct them.

AUTHORITY divides this great interest, when it sacrifices the tranquillity, ease, and blood of the people, to the terrible and transient brilliancy of warlike exploits. It is in vain that we endeavour to justify these destructive propensities,
by

B O O K by statues, and by inscriptions. These monuments of arrogance and flattery will one day be destroyed by time, or overthrown by hatred. The memory of that prince only will be respected, who shall have preferred peace, which must have ensured happiness to his subjects, to victories, which would have been only for himself; who shall have considered the empire as his family; who shall have made no other use of his power, than for the advantage of those who had intrusted him with it. His name and his character will be universally cherished. Fathers will inform posterity of the happiness which they enjoyed. Their children will repeat it to their descendants; and this delightful remembrance will be preserved from one age to another, and will be perpetuated in each family, and to the remotest centuries.

AUTHORITY divides this great interest, when the person into whose hands the reins of government have been placed, by birth or election, suffers them to be guided at pleasure by blind chance; when he prefers a mean repose to the dignity and the importance of the functions with which he is intrusted. His inaction is criminal and infamous. The indulgence with which his faults might have been treated, will be justly denied to his indolence. This severity will be the more lawful, as his character will have determined him to choose for substitutes the first ambitious men who may offer, and these almost necessarily men of no capacity. If even he had the singular good fortune of making a good choice, he would still be unpardonable, because it is not allowable to impose our duties upon others. He will die without having lived. His name will be forgotten; or if remembered, it will only be as the names of those sluggish kings, the years of
whose

whose reign history hath with reason disdained to count.

B O O K
XIX.

AUTHORITY divides this great interest, when the posts which determine the public tranquillity are intrusted to vile or corrupt men of intrigue; when favour shall obtain the rewards due to services; when the powerful springs, which insure the grandeur and the duration of empires, are destroyed. All emulation is extinct. The enlightened and laborious citizens either conceal themselves, or retire. The wicked and the audacious shew themselves insolently, and prosper. Every thing is directed and determined by presumption, by interest, and by the most disordinate passions. Justice is disregarded, virtue is degraded, and propriety, which might in some measure be a substitute to it, is considered as an old prejudice, or a ridiculous custom. Discouragement within, and opprobrium without, these are all that remain to a nation formerly powerful and respected.

THERE may sometimes be people dissatisfied under a good government; but where there are many that are unhappy, without any kind of public prosperity, then it is that the government is vicious in it's nature.

MANKIND are just as we would have them to be; it is the mode of government which gives them a good or an evil propensity.

A STATE ought to have one object only in view; and that is, public felicity. Every state has a particular manner of promoting this end; which may be considered as it's spirit, it's principle, to which every thing else is subordinate.

A NATION can have no industry for the arts, nor courage for war, without a confidence in, and an attachment to, the government. But when the principle of fear hath broken every other spring

B O O K of the soul, a nation then becomes of no consequence, the prince is exposed to a thousand enter-
 { **XIX.** prises from without; and a thousand dangers from within. Despised by his neighbours, and abhorred by his subjects, he must be in perpetual fear for the safety of his kingdom, as well as for that of his own life. It is a happiness for a nation, that commerce, arts and sciences, should flourish within it. It is even a happiness for those who govern, when they are not inclined to exert acts of tyranny. Upright minds are very easily led; but none have a greater aversion for violence and slavery. Let good monarchs be blessed with enlightened people; and let tyrants have none but brutes to reign over.

MILITARY power is both the cause and the destruction of despotism; which in it's infant state may be compared to a lion that conceals his talons in order to let them grow. In it's full vigour, it may be considered as a madman who tears his body to pieces with his arms. In it's advanced age, it is like Saturn, who, after having devoured his children, is shamefully mutilated by his own race.

GOVERNMENT may be divided into legislation and policy. Legislation relates to the internal management of the state, and policy to the external direction of it.

Policy

SAVAGE nations, which are addicted to hunting, have rather a policy than a legislation. Governed among themselves by manners and example, the only conventions or laws they have, are between one nation and another. Treaties of peace or alliance constitute their only code of legislation.

SUCH were nearly the societies of ancient times. Separated by deserts, without any communication of trade or voyages, they had only a present and immediate

immediate interest to settle. All their negotiations consisted in putting an end to a war by fixing the boundaries of a state. As it was necessary to persuade a nation, and not bribe a court by the mistresses or favourites of a prince, eloquent men were employed for this purpose, and the names of orator and ambassador were synonymous.

B O O K
XIX.

IN the middle ages, when every thing, even justice itself, was decided by force; when the Gothic government divided by separate interests all those petty states which owed their existence to it's constitution; negotiations had but little influence over a wild and recluse people, who knew no right but that of war, no treaties but for truces or ransoms.

DURING this long period of ignorance and barbarism, policy was entirely confined to the court of Rome. It had arisen from the artifices which had founded the papal government. As the pontiffs, by the laws of religion and the system of the hierarchy, influenced a very numerous clergy, whose proselytes extended perpetually in all the christian states, the correspondence kept up with the bishops, established early at Rome a center of communication for all the different churches, or nations. All rights were subordinate to a religion which exercised an absolute authority over the mind of every individual; it had a share in almost every transaction, either as the motive or the means; and the popes, by the Italian agents they had placed in all the prelacies of the christian state, were constantly informed of every commotion, and availed themselves of every event. They had the highest interest in this; that of attaining universal monarchy. The barbarism of the times in which this project was conceived, does not lessen it's greatness and sublimity. How daring was the attempt, to subdue, without troops, nations

BOOK
XIX

that were always in arms! What art to make even the weakness of the clergy respectable and sacred! What skill to agitate, to shake thrones one after the other, in order to keep them all in subjection! So deep, so extensive a design could only be carried into execution, by being concealed, and therefore was inconsistent with an hereditary monarchy, in which the passions of kings and the intrigues of ministers are the cause of so much instability in affairs. This project, and the general rule of conduct it requires, could not be formed but in an elective government, in which the chief is always chose from a body animated with the same spirit, and guided by the same maxims, in which an aristocratic court rather governs the prince, than suffers itself to be governed by him.

WHILE Italian policy was engaged in examining all the states of Europe, and availing itself of every opportunity to aggrandize and confirm the power of the church, each sovereign saw with indifference the revolutions that were taking place without. Most of them were too much engaged in establishing their authority in their own dominions, in disputing the branches of power with the several bodies which were in possession of them, or which were striving against the natural bent that monarchy has to despotism. They were not sufficiently masters of their own inheritance, to interfere in the disputes of their neighbours.

THE fifteenth century changed the order of things. When the princes had collected their forces, they were inclined to bring them to action, and try their respective strength. Till that time, the nations had only carried on war with each other upon their several frontiers. The season of the campaign was lost in assembling troops, which every baron always raised very slowly. There were then

then only skirmishes between small parties, not any regular battles between different armies. When a prince, either by alliances or inheritance, had acquired possessions in different states, the interests were confounded, and contentions arose among the people. It was necessary to send regular troops in the pay of the monarch, to defend at a distance territories that did not belong to the state. The crown of England no longer held provinces in the midst of France; but that of Spain acquired some rights in Germany; and that of France laid some claims in Italy. From that time all Europe was in a perpetual alternate state of war and negotiation.

THE ambition, talents, and rivalry of Charles V. and Francis I. gave rise to the present system of modern politics. Before these two kings, France and Spain had disputed the kingdom of Naples, in the name of the houses of Arragon and Anjou. Their dissensions had excited a ferment throughout all Italy, and the republic of Venice was the chief cause of that intestine commotion that was excited against two foreign powers. The Germans took a part in these disturbances, either as auxiliaries, or as being interested in them. The emperor and the pope were concerned in them with almost all Christendom. But Francis I. and Charles V. engaged in their fate, the views, the anxiety, the destiny of all Europe. All the powers seemed to be divided between two rival houses, in order to weaken alternately the most powerful. Fortune favoured the talents, the force, and the artifice of Charles V. More ambitious and less voluptuous than Francis I., his character turned the scale, and Europe for a time inclined to his side, but did not continue always to favour the same interest.

PHILIP

PHILIP II. who had all the spirit of intrigue, but not the military virtues of his father, inherited his projects and ambitious views, and found the times favourable to his aggrandizement. He exhausted his kingdom of men and ships, and even of money, though he was in possession of the mines of the New World; and left behind him a more extensive monarchy, but Spain itself in a much weaker state than it had been under his father.

His son imagined he should again make all Europe dependent, by an alliance with that branch of his house which reigned in Germany. Philip II. had through negligence relinquished this political idea: Philip III. resumed it. But in other respects he followed the erroneous, narrow, superstitious and pedantic principles of his predecessor. Within the state, there was much formality, but no order, and no oeconomy. The church was perpetually incroaching upon the state. The inquisition, that horrid monster, which conceals it's head in the heavens, and it's feet in the infernal regions, struck at the root of population, which at the same time suffered considerably from war and the colonies. In the external operations of the state, there were still the same ambitious views, and less skilful measures. Rash and precipitate in his enterprises, slow and obstinate in the execution of them, Philip III. had all those defects which are prejudicial to each other, and occasion every project to miscarry. He destroyed the small degree of life and vigour the monarchy yet retained. Richelieu availed himself of the weakness of Spain, and the foibles of the king whom he ruled over, to fill that period with his intrigues, and cause his name to descend to posterity. Germany and Spain were in some manner connected to each other by the House of Austria: to this league,

league, he opposed that of France with Sweden, to counteract the effect of the former. This system would naturally have taken place in his times, if it had not been the work of his genius. Gustavus Adolphus by his conquests enslaved all the north. All Europe concurred in lowering the pride of the House of Austria; and the peace of the Pyrenees turned the scale against Spain in favour of France.

BOOK
XIX.

CHARLES V. had been accused of aiming at universal monarchy; and Lewis XIV. was taxed with the same ambition. But neither of them ever conceived so high and so rash a project. They were both of them passionately desirous of extending their empire, by the aggrandizement of their families. This ambition is equally natural to princes of common abilities, who are born without any talents, as it is to monarchs of superior understanding, who have no virtues or moral qualifications. But neither Charles V. nor Lewis XIV. had that kind of spirit of resolution, that impulse of the soul to brave every thing, which constitutes heroic conquerors: they bore no resemblance in any particular to Alexander. Nevertheless useful alarms were taken and spread abroad. Such alarms cannot be too soon conceived, nor too soon diffused, when there arise any powers that are formidable to their neighbours. It is chiefly among nations, and with respect to kings, that fear produces safety.

WHEN Lewis XIV. began to reflect on his own situation, perhaps, he might be surprised at seeing himself more powerful than he thought he was. His greatness was partly owing to the little harmony that subsisted between the forces and the designs of his enemies. Europe had, indeed, felt the necessity of a general union, but had not discovered the means of forming it. In treating

BOOK XIX. treating with this monarch, proud of success, and vain from the applause he had received, it was thought a considerable advantage if every thing was not given up. In a word, the insults of France which increased with her victories; the natural turn of her intrigues to spread dissension every where, in order to reign alone; her contempt for the faith of treaties; the haughty and authoritative tone she usurped, turned the general envy she had excited into detestation, and raised universal alarms. Even those princes, who had seen without umbrage, or favoured the increase of her power, felt the necessity of repairing this error in politics, and of combining and raising among themselves a body of forces superior to those of France, in order to prevent her tyrannizing over the nations.

LEAGUES were, therefore, formed, which were for a long time ineffectual. One man alone was found capable to animate and conduct them. Warmed with that public spirit, which only great and virtuous souls can possess, it was a prince, though born in a republic, who for the general cause of Europe was inflamed with that love of liberty, so natural to upright minds. He turned his ambition towards the greatest object and most worthy of the time in which he lived. His own interest never warped him from that of the public. With a courage peculiar to himself he knew how to defy those very misfortunes which he foresaw; depending less for success upon his military abilities, than waiting for a favourable turn of affairs, from his patience and political activity. Such was the situation of affairs when the succession to the throne of Spain set all Europe in flames.

SINCE the empire of the Persians and that of the Romans, ambition had never been tempted by
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so rich a spoil. The prince, who might have united this crown to his own, would naturally have risen to that universal monarchy, the idea of which raised a general alarm. It was, therefore, necessary to prevent this empire from becoming the possession of a power already formidable, and to keep the balance equal between the Houses of Austria and Bourbon, which had the only hereditary right to the throne.

BOOK
XIX.

MEN well versed in the knowledge of the manners and affairs of Spain, have asserted, if we may believe Bolingbroke, that had it not been for the hostilities, which were then excited by England and Holland, we should have seen Philip V. as good a Spaniard as his predecessors, and that the French ministry would then have had no influence over the Spanish administration; but that the war raised against the Spaniards for the sake of giving them a ruler, obliged them to have recourse to the fleets and armies of a state that was alone capable of assisting them in fixing upon such a king as they wanted. This just idea, the result of deep reflection, has been confirmed by the experience of half a century. The turn of the Spaniards has never been able to coincide with the taste of the French. Spain, from the character of her inhabitants seems rather to belong to Africa than to Europe.

THE train of events, however, answered to the general wishes. The armies and the councils of the quadruple alliance gained an equal superiority over the common enemy. Instead of those languid and unfortunate campaigns which had tried the patience of the prince of Orange, but not discouraged him, all the operations of the confederates were successful. France, in her turn, humbled and defeated on every side, was upon the

B O O K the brink of ruin, when she was restored by the
XIX. death of the emperor.

It was then perceived, that if the archduke Charles, crowned with the imperial diadem, and succeeding to all the dominions of the House of Austria, should join Spain and the West-Indies to this vast inheritance, he would be in possession of that same exorbitant power, which the House of Bourbon had been deprived of by the war. But the enemies of France still persisted in their design of dethroning Philip V. without thinking of the person that was to succeed him; while true politicians, notwithstanding their triumphs, grew tired of a war, the very success of which always became an evil, when it could no longer do any good.

THIS difference of opinions raised dissensions among the allies, which prevented them from reaping all those advantages from the peace of Utrecht, they might reasonably have expected from their success. The best means that could be devised to protect the provinces of the allies, were to lay open the frontiers of France. Lewis XIV. had employed forty years in fortifying them, and his neighbours had suffered him quietly to raise these bulwarks which kept them in continual awe. It was necessary to demolish them: for every strong power that puts itself in a posture of defence, intends to form an attack. Philip remained upon the throne of Spain; and the fortifications were left standing in Flanders, and on the borders of the Rhine.

SINCE this period, no opportunity hath offered to rectify the mistake committed at the peace of Utrecht. France hath always maintained it's superiority on the continent; but chance hath often diminished it's influence. The scales of the political balance will never be perfectly even, nor accurate

curate enough to determine the degrees of power with exact precision. Perhaps, even this balance of power may be nothing more than a chimæra. It can be only fixed by treaties, and these have no validity, when they are only made between absolute monarchs, and not between nations. These acts must be permanent when made by the people themselves, because the object of them is their peace and safety, which are their greatest advantages: but a despot always sacrifices his subjects to his anxiety, and his engagements to his ambition.

BUT it is not war alone that determines the superiority of nations, as it hath been hitherto imagined; since during the last half-century commerce hath had a much greater influence in it. While the powers of the continent divided Europe into unequal portions, which policy by means of leagues, treaties, and alliances always preserved in a certain equilibrium; a maritime people formed as it were a new system, and by their industry made the land subject to the sea; as nature herself has done by her laws. They formed, or brought to perfection that extensive commerce, which is founded on an excellent system of agriculture, flourishing manufactures, and the richest possessions of the four quarters of the world. This is the kind of universal monarchy that Europe ought to wrest from England, in restoring to each maritime state that freedom, and that power it hath a right to have upon the element that surrounds it. This is a system of public good founded upon natural equity, and in this case justice is the voice of general interest. The people cannot be too much warned to resume all their powers, and to employ the resources offered them by the climate and the soil they

B O O K they inhabit, to acquire that national and distinct
 XIX. independence in which they were born.

If all Europe were sufficiently enlightened, and each nation were acquainted with it's rights and it's real advantages, neither the continent, nor the ocean would mutually give laws to each other; but a reciprocal influence would be established between the continental and maritime people, a balance of industry and power, which would induce a mutual intercourse for the general benefit. Each nation would sow and reap upon it's proper element. The several states would enjoy the same liberty of exportation and importation that should subsist between the provinces of the same empire.

THERE is a great error that prevails in modern politics, which is, that every state should endeavour to weaken it's enemies as much as possible. But no nation can seek the ruin of another state, without paving the way for, and hastening it's own slavery. There are certainly moments in which fortune at once throws into the way of a people a great increase of power; but such sudden elevations are not lasting. It is sometimes better to support rivals, than to oppress them. Sparta refused to enslave Athens; and Rome repented of having destroyed Carthage.

THESE noble and generous sentiments would prevent policy from the necessity of committing many crimes, and asserting many falsehoods; policy, which for these two or three centuries past hath had more important and more various objects to attend to. The influence of policy was formerly much limited, it seldom extended beyond the frontiers of the several nations. It's sphere hath been singularly enlarged in proportion as the nations most distant from each other have formed connections among themselves. It
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hath particularly received an immense increase since the time, when by discoveries, either fortunate or unfortunate, all the parts of the universe have been rendered subordinate to those which we inhabit. BOOK
XIX.

As the operations of policy were multiplied in proportion to the extent which it acquired, every power thought it necessary for their interests to fix agents in foreign courts, who had formerly been employed there but for a very short time. The habit of treating incessantly gave birth to maxims unknown before that period. Delays and artifices were substituted to the frankness and celerity of transient negotiations. The powers founded and studied each other, and reciprocal attempts were made to tire out or to surprise all parties. Secrets which had been found impenetrable were purchased with gold, and bribery completed what intrigue had begun.

It appeared necessary to furnish a continual supply of matter to quiet that spirit of anxiety with which the minds of all the ambassadors had been impressed. Policy, like that insidious insect that weaves it's web in darkness, hath stretched forth it's net in the midst of Europe, and fastened it, as it were, to every court. One single thread cannot be touched without drawing all the rest. The most petty sovereign hath some secret interest in the treaties between the greater powers. Two petty princes of Germany cannot exchange a fief, or a domain, without being thwarted or seconded by the courts of Vienna, Versailles, or London. Negotiations must be carried on in all the cabinets for years together for every the most trifling change in the disposition of the land. The blood of the people is the only thing that is not bargained for. War is determined upon in a day or two; the settling of peace is protracted during
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BOOK XIX. of this instability. One man against the testimony of his conscience and of his knowledge, counter-acts from a motive of mean jealousy a useful measure, the honour of which would belong to his rival. The next day the same infamous part is adopted by the latter. The sovereign alternately grants what he had refused, or refuses what he had granted. The negociator will easily perceive which of his ministers he has least consulted, but it is impossible for him to foresee what his last resolution will be. In this embarrassment to whom shall we have recourse? To bribery and to the women, if he be sent into a country governed by a man. To bribery and to the men, if he be sent into a country governed by a woman. He must lay aside the character of the ambassador or of the envoy, in order to assume that of the corrupter, the only one by which he can succeed. It is gold which he must substitute to the most profound policy. But if by some chance, of which perhaps there is scarce any example, gold should fail of it's effect, the only resource he has remaining is to solicit to be recalled.

But the fate of nations and political interests are very different in republican governments. As the authority there resides in the collective body of the people, there are certain principles and some public interests attended to in every negotiation. In this case the permanency of a system is not to be confined to the duration of the ministry, or to the life of one single man. The general spirit, that exists and perpetuates itself in the nation, is the only rule of every negotiation. Not but that a powerful citizen, or an eloquent demagogue, may sometimes lead a popular government into a political mistake; but this is easily recovered. Faults, in these instances, may
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be considered equally with successes as lessons of instruction. Great events, and not men, produce remarkable periods in the history of republics. It is in vain to attempt to surprise a free people by artifice, or intrigues, into a treaty of peace or alliance. Their maxims will always make them return to their lasting interests, and all engagements will give way to the supreme law. In these governments, it is the safety of the people that does every thing, while in others it is the will of the ruler.

BOOK
XIX.

THIS contrast of political principles has rendered every popular government suspicious or odious to all absolute monarchs. They have dreaded the influence of a republican spirit upon their own subjects, the weight of whose chains they are every day increasing. A kind of secret conspiracy may therefore be perceived between all monarchies, to destroy, or insensibly to sap, the foundations of all free states. But liberty will arise from the midst of oppression. It already exists in every breast; public writings will contribute to instil it into the minds of all enlightened men; and tyranny into the hearts of the people. All men will, at length, be sensible, and this period is at no great distance, that liberty is the first gift of heaven, as it is the first source of virtue. The instruments of despotism, will become it's destroyers; and the enemies of humanity, those who seem armed at present merely to oppose it, will exert themselves in it's defence.

IN this place I was intending to speak of war, or that rage, which being kindled by injustice, ambition, and revenge, assembles, under two adverse commanders, a multitude of armed men, impels them against each other, drenches the earth with their blood, strews it with dead bodies, and prepares nourishment for the animals that

BOOK XIX. come after them, but who are less ferocious than they.

BUT I have suddenly postponed my intention by asking of myself what peace is, and whether it exists any where? Upon the spot where I now am, in the center of my own city, a multitude of interests opposite to mine confine me, and I repeat them. If I pass the limits of that space which I call my own country, I am considered with an anxious eye; I am accosted, and asked, who I am, from whence I came, and where I am going. At length I obtain a bed, and am preparing to take some rest, when a sudden clamour compels me to depart. If I remain, I am proscribed; and the next day, the house which had given me refuge, shall be set on fire, and those who have treated me as a fellow-citizen, shall be murdered by assassins who speak my own language. Should curiosity, or a thirst of knowledge induce me to visit another country; if I take some pains to examine it, I am immediately suspected, and a spy is commissioned to watch me. Should I have the misfortune to worship God in my own way, which happens not to be that of the country I am visiting, I am surrounded by priests and executioners. I then make my escape, exclaiming, with grief: Peace, then, that blessing so earnestly wished for, exists not in any place.

THE good man, however, hath his dreams; and I will acknowledge, that being witness to the progress of knowledge, which hath shaken so many prejudices, and introduced so much softness in our manners, I have thought that it was impossible the infernal art of war should be perpetuated; but that it would sink into oblivion. The people who have brought it to perfection will become accursed; and the moment when these formidable weapons shall be laid down, death shall be generally

generally demolished, cannot be far distant. The universe will at length execrate those odious conquerors, who have rather chosen to be the terror of their neighbours, than the fathers of their subjects; and to invade provinces rather than to gain the affections of men; who have chosen that the cries of grief should be the only hymn, accompanying their victories; who have raised up melancholy monuments, destined to immortalize their rage and their vanity, in the countries which they had spoiled, in the cities they had reduced to ashes, and over the carcases which their swords had heaped on each other; conquerors, who have had no other wish, than that the history of their reign should contain only the remembrance of the calamities they had occasioned. Mankind will no longer be deceived respecting the objects of their admiration. They will no longer, with abject infatuation, prostrate themselves before those who trampled them under their feet. Calamities will be considered in their proper light; and the nocturnal labours, and talents of great artists, will no longer be prostituted to the commemoration of brilliant crimes. Princes themselves will partake of the wisdom of their age. The voice of philosophy will revive in their minds sentiments which have long lain dormant, and will inspire them with horror, and a contempt for sanguinary glory. They will be confirmed in these ideas by the ministers of religion; who, availing themselves of the sacred privilege of their functions, will drag them before the tribunal of the Great Judge, where they will be obliged to answer for the thousands of unfortunate persons sacrificed to their hatred or caprice. If it were resolved in the decrees of Heaven, that sovereigns should persevere in their frenzy, those numberless hords of ass-

BOOK
XIX.

kins who are kept in pay, would throw away their arms. Filled with a just horror for their detestable employment, and with profound indignation against the cruel abuse which was made of their strength, and of their courage, they would leave their extravagant despots to settle their quarrels themselves.

BUT this illusion did not last long. I was soon persuaded that the disputes between kings would never end; any more than their passions, and that they could only be decided by the sword. I thought that it would be impossible ever to disgust of the horrors of war, a people who, notwithstanding all sorts of cruelties and devastations were committed around them without scruple, and without remorse, upon the scene of discord, still found, while sitting quietly by their fire-side, that there were not sieges, battles, or catastrophes enough to satisfy their curiosity, and amuse their vacant hours. I thought, that there was nothing either reasonable or humane to be expected from a set of subaltern butchers, who, far from giving themselves up to despair, from tearing their hair, from detesting themselves, and from shedding rivers of tears at the sight of a vast plain filled with scattered members, were, on the contrary, able to go over it with an air of triumph, bathing their feet in the blood of their friends and of their enemies, walking over their carcases, and mixing songs of mirth with the plaintive accents of expiring men. It seemed to me, as if I heard the speech of one of those tygers, who, blending flattery with ferociousness, said to a monarch, seized with a consternation at the sight of a field of battle covered with torn limbs and dead bodies, scarcely cold: *Sir, it is not us, but these, who are too happy*; and thus prevented the tears from falling from the eyes of a young prince:

s, which he ought rather to have prompted B O O K
 to shed, by saying to him: "Behold, and XIX.
 consider the effects of thy ambition, of thy
 folly, of thy rage, and of our's, and feel the
 drops of blood trickling down thy cheeks,
 which fall from the laurels with which we have
 crowned thee." These distressing reflections
 engaged me into melancholy; so that it was some
 time before I could resume the thread of my
 story, and go on with my subject.

WAR has existed at all times and in all coun-
 tries; but the art of war is only to be found in
 certain ages of the world, and among certain
 people. The Greeks instituted it, and conquered
 the powers of Asia. The Romans improved
 and subdued the world. These two nations,
 worthy to command all others, as their genius
 and virtue were the causes of their prosperity,
 added this superiority to their infantry, in which
 every single man exerts his whole strength. The
 Macedonian phalanx and the Roman legions were
 every where victorious.

WHEN indolence had introduced a superior
 number of cavalry into the armies of the ancients,
 they lost some of it's glory and success. Not-
 withstanding the exact discipline of it's troops, it
 could no longer resist those barbarous nations, that
 fought on foot.

FIRST men, however, little better than savages,
 armed with arms only, and those powers nature had
 given them the use of, had subdued the most ex-
 tensive and the most civilized empire of the uni-
 verse, soon changed their infantry into cavalry.
 This was properly called the line of battle, or the
 phalanx. All the nobility, who were the sole pos-
 sessors of lands and of privileges, those usual at-
 tendants of victory, chose to ride on horseback;
 while the enslaved multitude were left on foot,
 almost

almost without arms, and were scarce holden in any degree of estimation

IX In times when the gentleman was distinguished by his horse, when the man himself was of little consequence, and every idea of importance was attached to the knight, when wars consisted in small incursions, and campaigns lasted but a day, when success depended upon the quickness of marches, then the fate of armies was determined by cavalry. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there were scarce any other troops in Europe. The dexterity and strength of men was no longer shewn in wrestling, at the cestus, in the exercise of arms, and of all the muscles of the body, but in tournaments, in managing a horse, and in throwing the lance at full speed. This species of war, better calculated for wandering Tartars, than for fixed and sedentary societies, was one of the defects of the feudal government. A race of conquerors, whose rights were to be determined by their swords, whose merit and glory was in their arms, whose sole occupation was hunting; could scarce avoid riding on horseback, with all that parade and spirit of authority which must necessarily arise from a rude and uncultivated understanding. But what could troops of heavy armed cavalry avail in the attack and defence of castles and towns, fortified by walls or by surrounding waters?

To this imperfection of the military art, must be ascribed the duration of war for several ages, without intermission, between France and England. War continued incessantly for want of a sufficient number of men. Whole months were required to collect, to arm, to bring into the field troops that were only to continue there a few weeks. Kings could not assemble more than a certain number of vassals, and those at stated times

times The lords had only a right to call under BOOK
XIX
 their banners some of their tenants, upon stipulated terms The time that ought to have been employed in carrying on war, was lost in forms and regulations, in the same manner as courts of justice consume those estates they are to determine. At length the French, tired with being constantly obliged to repulse the English, like the horse that implored the assistance of man against the stag, suffered the yoke and burden to be imposed upon them, which they bear to this day. Kings raised and maintained at their own expence a constant body of troops. Charles VII after having expelled the English by the assistance of mercenary troops, when he disbanded his army, kept nine thousand horse, and sixteen thousand infantry.

THIS was the origin of the abasement of the nobility, and the elevation of monarchy, of the political liberty of the nation without, and it's civil slavery within. The people were delivered from feudal tyranny, only to fall, some time or other, under the despotism of kings. So much does human nature seem born for slavery! It became necessary to raise a fund for the payment of an army, and the taxes were arbitrary, and unlimited as the number of soldiers, who were distributed in the different parts of the kingdom, under a pretence of guarding the frontiers against the enemy, but in reality to restrain and oppress the subject The officers, commanders, and governors, were tools of government always armed against the nation itself They, as well as their soldiers, no longer considered themselves as citizens of the state, solely devoted to the defence of the property and rights of the people They acknowledged no longer any person in the kingdom, except the king, in whose name they were
 ready

BOOK XIX most commonly deficient in all other military operations

THE King of Prussia appeared, and with him a new order of things was introduced. Without suffering himself to be swayed by the authority of those who had gone before him, this prince created a system of tactics almost entirely new. He demonstrated, that troops, however numerous, might be disciplined and manœuvred, that the motions of the greatest armies were not subject to calculations, more complicated, and less certain than those of the most feeble corps, and that the same springs by which one battalion was put in motion, when properly managed, and put together by a great commander, might set a hundred thousand men in motion. His genius suggested to him many scientific details, of which no man had previously entertained the least idea, and by giving, in a manner, the advantage to the legs over the arms, he introduced into his evolutions, and into his marches, a celerity, which is become necessary, and almost decisive, since armies have been unfortunately so much multiplied, and since they have been obliged to occupy a very extensive front.

THIS prince, who, since Alexander, hath not had his equal in history, for extent and variety of talents, who, without having been himself formed by Greeks, hath been able to form Lacedæmonians, this monarch, in a word, who hath deserved beyond all others that his name should be recorded in his age, and who will have the glory, since it is one of having carried the art of war to a degree of perfection, from which, fortunately, it cannot but degenerate. Frederic hath seen, all Europe adopt his institutions with enthusiasm. In imitation of the Roman people, who, by instructing themselves at the school of
their

their enemies, learnt the art of resisting, of van-
quishing, and of enslaving them, the modern na-
tions have endeavoured to follow the example of
a neighbour, formidable by his military capacity,
and who might become dangerous by his success.
But have they accomplished their design? Some
external parts of his discipline have undoubtedly
been imitated; but let us be allowed to doubt,
whether his great principles have been perfectly
understood, thoroughly investigated, and pro-
perly combined.

BUT even if this sublime and terrible doctrine
were become common among the powers, would
it be equally useful to them all? The Prussians ne-
ver lose sight of it one moment. They are igno-
rant of the intrigues of courts, the luxuries of
cities, and the idleness of a country life. Their
colours are their roofs; warlike songs their amuse-
ments; the recital of their first exploits their con-
versation; and fresh laurels their only hope. Eter-
nally under arms, eternally in exercise, they have
perpetually before them the image, and almost
the reality, of a prudent and obstinate war, whe-
ther they be collected together in camps, or dis-
persed in garrisons.

MILITARY men of all countries draw the con-
trast between this description, and that of your
education, of your laws, and of your manners;
and compare yourselves to such men, if you can.
I will allow that the sound of the trumpet may
rouse you from your lethargy, from ball, from
public amusements, and that, from the arms of
your mistresses, you may rush with eagerness into
danger. But will a transient ardour supply the place
of that vigilance, of that activity, of that appli-
cation, and of that foresight, which can alone de-
termine the operations of a war, or of a cam-
paign? Will a body, enervated by effeminate
habits,

BOOK
XIV

habits, resist the horrors of famine, the rigour of seasons, and the diversity of climates? Will a mind, ruled by the taste for pleasure, bend itself to regular, profound, and serious reflections? In a heart replete with various and frivolous objects, will not one of them be found which may be incompatible with courage? On the borders of the Po, of the Rhine, and of the Danube, in the midst of those destructions and ravages which always attend upon his steps, will not the Frenchman, covered with dust, his strength exhausted, and destitute of every thing, turn his sorrowful eyes towards the smiling borders of the Loire or of the Seine? Will he not sigh after those ingenious diversions, those tender connections, those charming societies, and after those voluptuous delights of every kind which he hath left there, and which await him at his return? Imbued with the absurd and unfortunate prejudice, that war, which is a profession for other nations, is only a rank or condition of life to him, will he not quit the camp as soon as he shall think he can do it without exposing his reputation too openly? If example, or circumstances, do not allow him to follow his inclinations, will he not exhaust in a few months the income of ten years, to change a foraging party into a party of pleasure, or to display his luxury at the head of the trenches? The dislike of his duties, and his indifference for public affairs, will they not expose him to the ridicule of an enemy, who may have different principles, and a different rule of conduct?

It is not to the King of Prussia, but to Lewis XIV that we must attribute that prodigious number of troops, which presents us with the idea of war, even in the midst of peace. By keeping always numerous armies on foot, that proud monarch obliged his neighbours, or his enemies,

enemies, to exert efforts nearly similar. The contagion spread itself even among the princes who were too weak to raise disturbances, and too poor to keep them up. They sold the blood of their legions to the greater powers, and the number of soldiers was gradually raised in Europe to two millions.

THE barbarous ages are spoken of with horror ; and yet war was then only a period of violence and of commotions, but at present it is almost a natural state. Most governments are either military, or become so ; even the improvement in our discipline is a proof of it. The security we enjoy in our fields, the tranquillity that prevails in our cities, whether troops are passing through, or are quartered in them ; the police which reigns around the camps, and in garrisoned towns, proclaim indeed that arms are under some kind of controul, but at the same time indicate that every thing is subject to their power.

FORTUNATELY, the hostilities of our days do not resemble those of former times. At those distant periods, the conquered provinces were laid waste ; the towns subdued were reduced to ashes ; the vanquished citizens were either put to death, or reduced to servitude. At present, war is much less cruel. When the battle is at an end, no more atrocious acts are committed ; the prisoners are taken care of ; the cities are no more destroyed, nor the countries ravaged. The contributions exacted from a subdued people scarce amount to as much as they paid for taxes before their misfortunes ; and when they are restored by peace to their former masters, no alteration appears in their situation. When treaties insure their submission to the conqueror, they enjoy the same advantages as all the other subjects, and sometimes even several very important prerogatives.

BOOK
XIX

tives. Accordingly, the nations, even those which are the least enlightened, shew very little concern for these dissensions between princes; they consider those quarrels as disputes between one government and another; and they would behold these events with total indifference, were they not obliged to pay the mercenaries employed to support the ambition, the turbulence, or the caprices of a tyrannical master.

THESE mercenaries are very ill paid. They cost the nation four or five times less than the meanest mechanic. They receive no more than what is absolutely necessary to keep them from starving. Notwithstanding this, the troops, the generals, the fortified places, the artillery, and the instruments of war, have been multiplied to such a degree, that the maintenance of them hath driven the people to despair. In order to provide for these expences, it hath been necessary to overburden all the classes of society, which pressing one upon another, must crush the lowest and the most useful of them, that of the husbandman. The increase of taxes, and the difficulty of collecting them, destroy, through want or distress, those very families which are the parents and nurseries of the armies.

If an universal oppression be the first inconvenience arising from the increase of soldiers, their idleness is a second. Let them be incessantly employed, but not to excess, as soon as the din of war shall no longer be heard, and their morals will be less dissolute, less contagious; the strength necessary to bear the fatigues of their profession will always be preserved, and their health will seldom be affected; they will no more be consumed by hunger, tedium, or affliction, desertions and quarrels will no more be common among them, and they may still be useful to society after

ter the time of their service shall be expired. For a moderate increase of their pay, they will cheerfully make the roads over which they are to march; they will level the mountains they are to climb up; they will fortify the towns they are to defend; they will dig the canals from whence they are to derive their subsistence; they will improve the ports in which they are to embark; they will deliver the people from the most cruel and the most ignominious of all vexations, the labours of vassalage. After having expiated, by useful labours, the misfortune of being devoted, by their condition, to desolate the earth, and to massacre the inhabitants, they will perhaps cease to be detested; they will perhaps one day attain the honour of being considered in the light of citizens.

THE Romans were acquainted with these truths, and had made them the basis of their conduct. How is it come to pass that we, who were formerly the slaves, and who are become at present the disciples of these masters of the world, have deviated so much from this important object of their principles? It is because Europe hath believed, and doth still believe, that men who are destined to handle arms, and to gather laurels, would be degraded by using instruments which are only in the hands of the lowest class of the people. How long will this absurd prejudice, formed in barbarous times, subsist? How long shall we still remain in the twelfth century?

A THIRD inconvenience arising from the increase of soldiers, is a decrease of courage. Few men are born fit for war. If we except Lacedæmon and Rome, where women who were citizens, and free, brought forth soldiers; where children were lulled to sleep by, and awakened with the sound of trumpets and songs of war; where education rendered men unnatural, and

BOOK
XIX.

made them beings of a different species: all other nations have only had a few brave men among them. And, indeed, the less troops are raised, the better will they be. In the earlier ages of our ancestors, who were less civilized, but stronger than we are, armies were much less numerous than our's, but engagements were more decisive. It was necessary to be a noble or a rich man to serve in the army, which was looked upon both as an honour and a privilege. None but volunteers entered into the service. All their engagements ended with the campaign; and any man who disliked the art of war was at liberty to withdraw. Besides, there was then more of that ardour, and of that pride of sentiment, which constitutes true courage. At present, what glory is there in serving under absolute commanders, who judge of men by their size, estimate them by their pay, enlist them by force or by stratagem, and keep or discharge them without their consent, as they have taken them? What honour is there in aspiring to the command of armies under the baneful influence of courts, where every thing is given or taken away without reason; where men without merit are raised, and others, though innocent, are degraded by mere caprice; where the department of war is intrusted to a favourite, who hath not distinguished himself upon any occasion, and to whom the art of war is unknown both in theory and practice; where a favourite mistress marks with patches, upon a map spread out upon her toilet, the route which the army is to take; or where it is necessary to send to solicit permission at court, before a battle can be given; a fatal delay, during which time the enemy may have changed his position, and the moment of victory be lost; where a general, without the consent of the prince,

prince, hath sometimes been commanded, under pain of disgrace, to suffer himself to be beaten; where jealousy, hatred, and a variety of other motives equally detestable, frustrate the hopes of a fortunate campaign; where, either through negligence or inability, camps are suffered to want provisions, forage, or ammunition; where the person who is to obey, to march, or to stop, to execute the motions concerted, betrays his commander, and set's discipline at defiance, without endangering his life? Accordingly, except in rising empires, or in the instant of a crisis, the greater number there are of soldiers in the state, the more is the nation weakened: and in proportion as a state is enfeebled, the number of it's soldiers is increased.

A FOURTH inconvenience is, that the increase of soldiers tends to despotism. A number of troops, towns well fortified, magazines and arsenals, may prevent invasions; but while they preserve a people from the irruptions of a conqueror, they do not secure them from the incroachments of a despotic prince. Such a number of soldiers serve only to keep those, who are already slaves, in chains. The tyrant then prevails, and makes every thing conform to his will, as every thing is subservient to his power. By the force of arms alone, he sets the opinions of men at defiance, and controuls their will. By the assistance of soldiers he levies taxes; and by these he raises soldiers. He imagines that his authority is shewn and exercised, by destroying what he hath formed; but his exertions are vain and fruitless. He is perpetually renewing his forces, without being ever able to recover the national strength. In vain do his soldiers keep his people in continual war; if his subjects tremble at his troops, his troops in return will fly from the enemy. But in

B O O K these circumstances, the loss of a battle is that of
XIX a kingdom. The minds of all men being alienated, they voluntarily submit to a foreign yoke; because, under the dominion of a conqueror, hope is still left; while, under that of a despot, nothing remains but fear. When the progress of the military government, hath introduced despotism, then the nation exists no more. The soldiery soon becomes insolent and detested. Barrenness, occasioned by wretchedness and debauchery, is the cause of the extinction of families. A spirit of discord and hatred prevails among all orders of men, who are either corrupted or disgraced. Societies betray, sell, and plunder each other, and give themselves up, one after another, to the scourges of the tyrant, who plunders, oppresses, destroys, and annihilates them all. Such is the end of that art of war, which paves the way for a military government. Let us now consider what influence the navy has.

Navy. THE ancients have transmitted to us almost all those arts that have been revived with the restoration of letters; but we have surpassed them in the military management of the navy. Tyre and Sidon, Carthage and Rome, scarce knew any sea but the Mediterranean; to sail through which it was only necessary to have rafts, galleys, and men to row them. Sea engagements might then be bloody; but it required no great skill to construct and equip the fleets. To pass from Europe into Africa, it was only necessary to be supplied with boats, which may be called flat bottom ones, which transmitted Carthaginians or Romans, the only people almost who were engaged in sea-fights. Commerce was, fortunately, a greater object of attention to the Athenians, and the republics of Asia, than victories at sea.

AFTER

AFTER these famous nations had abandoned both the land and the sea to plunderers and to pirates, the navy remained, during twelve centuries, equally neglected with all the other arts. Those swarms of barbarians, who over-ran and totally destroyed Rome in it's declining state, came from the Baltic upon rafts or canoes, to ravage and plunder our sea-coasts, without going far from the continent. These were not voyages, but descents upon the coasts, that were continually renewed. The Danes and Normans were not armed for a cruise, and scarce knew how to fight but upon land.

At length, chance or the Chinese supplied the Europeans with the compass, and this was the cause of the discovery of America. The needle, which taught sailors to know how far they were distant from the north, or how near they approached to it, emboldened them to attempt longer voyages, and to lose sight of land for whole months together. Geometry and astronomy taught them how to compute the progress of the constellations, to determine the longitude by them, and to judge pretty nearly how far they were advancing to the east and west. Even at that time, the height and the distance of vessels from the coast might always have been known. Though the knowledge of the longitude be much more inaccurate than that of the latitude, yet they both soon occasioned such improvement to be made in navigation, as to give rise to the art of carrying on war by sea. The first essay, however, of this art was made between galleys that were in possession of the Mediterranean. The most celebrated engagement of the modern navy was that of Lepanto, which was fought two centuries ago, between two hundred and five Christian, and two hundred and sixty Turkish galleys. This prodigious

BOOK
XIX.

religious armament was entirely constructed in Italy; a country from which almost every invention of art has been derived, though not preserved in it. But at that time, it's trade, it's population, were double what they are at present. Besides, those gallies were neither so long nor so large as those of our times, as we may judge from some of the old carcases that are still preserved in the arsenal of Venice. The number of rowers amounted to one hundred and fifty, and the troops did not exceed fourscore men in one galley. At present, Venice hath more beautiful gallies, and less influence, upon that sea which the doge marries, and which other powers frequent and trade upon.

GALLIES, indeed, were proper for criminals; but stronger vessels were required for soldiers. The art of constructing ships improved with that of navigation. Philip II., king of all Spain, and of the East and West Indies, employed all the docks of Spain and Portugal, of Naples and Sicily, which he then possessed, in constructing ships of an extraordinary size and strength; and his fleet assumed the title of the Invincible Armada. It consisted of one hundred and thirty ships, near one hundred of which were the largest that had yet been seen on the ocean. Twenty small ships followed this fleet, and sailed or fought under it's protection. The pride of the Spaniards, in the sixteenth century, hath dwelt very much upon, and exaggerated the pompous description of this formidable armament. But a circumstance which diffused terror and admiration two centuries ago, would now serve only to excite laughter. The largest of those ships would be no more than a third-rate in our squadrons. They were so heavily armed, and so ill managed, that they could scarce move, or sail near the wind, nor board another

other vessel, nor could the ship be properly worked in tempestuous weather. The sailors were as awkward as the ships were heavy, and the pilots almost as ignorant as the sailors. BOOK
XIX.

THE English, who were already acquainted with the weakness, and little skill of their enemies at sea, concluded that inexperience would occasion their defeat. They carefully avoided boarding these unwieldly machines, and burned a part of them. Some of these enormous galleons were taken, others disabled. A storm arose, in which most of the ships lost their anchors, and were abandoned by their crews to the fury of the waves, and cast away, some upon the western coasts of Scotland, others upon the coasts of Ireland. Scarce one half of this invincible fleet was able to return to Spain, where the damages it had suffered, joined to the terror of the sailors, spread a general consternation, from which Spain has never recovered. The Spaniards were for ever depressed by the loss of an armament that had cost three years preparation, and upon which all the forces and revenues of the kingdom had been almost exhausted.

THE destruction of the Spanish navy occasioned the dominion of the sea to pass into the hands of the Dutch. The pride of their former tyrants could not be more signally punished than by the prosperity of a people, forced by oppression to break the yoke of regal authority. When this republic began to emerge from it's sens, the rest of Europe was embroiled in civil wars by the spirit of fanaticism. Persecution drove men into Holland from all other states. The inquisition which the house of Austria wished to extend over all parts of it's dominions; the persecution which Henry II. raised in France; the emissaries of Rome, who were supported in England by Mary; every

BOOK

XIX.

every thing, in a word, concurred to people Holland with an immense number of refugees. This country had neither lands nor harvest for their subsistence. They were obliged to seek it by sea throughout the whole universe. Almost all the commerce of Europe was engrossed by Lisbon, Cadiz, and Antwerp, under one sovereign, whose power and ambition rendered him a general object of hatred and envy. The new republicans having escaped his tyranny, and being excited by resentment and necessity, became pirates, and formed a navy at the expence of the Spaniards and Portuguese, whom they held in utter aversion. France and England, who, in the progress of this rising republic, only perceived the humiliation of the house of Austria, assisted Holland in preserving the conquest and spoils she had made, the value of which she was yet unacquainted with. Thus the Dutch secured to themselves establishments wherever they chose to direct their forces; fixed themselves in these acquisitions before the jealousy of other nations could be excited, and imperceptibly made themselves masters of all commerce by their industry, and of all the seas by the strength of their squadrons.

THE domestic troubles in England were for a while favourable to this prosperity, which had been so silently acquired in remote countries. But at length Cromwell excited in his country an emulation for commerce, so natural to the inhabitants of an island. To share the empire of the seas with the English was, in fact, to give it up to them; and the Dutch was determined to maintain it. Instead of forming an alliance with England, they courageously resolved upon war. They carried it on for a long time with unequal force; and this perseverance against misfortune, preserved to them,

them, at least, an honourable rivalship. Superiority in the construction and form of the ships often gave the victory to their enemies; but the vanquished never met with any decisive losses. BOOK
XIX.

IN the mean while, these long and dreadful combats had exhausted, or at least diminished the strength of the two nations, when Lewis XIV., willing to avail himself of their mutual weakness, aspired to the empire of the sea. When this prince first assumed the reins of government, he found only eight or nine vessels in his harbours, and those very much decayed; neither were they ships of the first or second rate. Richelieu had perceived the necessity of raising a pier before Rochelle, but not of forming a navy; the idea of which must, however, have been conceived by Henry IV. and his friend Sully. But it was reserved to the most brilliant age of the French nation to give birth to every improvement at once. Lewis, who conceived, at least, all the ideas of grandeur he did not himself suggest, inspired his subjects with the same passion which prevailed in him. Five ports were opened to the military navy. Docks and arsenals equally convenient and magnificent were constructed. The art of ship-building, still very imperfect every where, was established upon more certain principles. A set of naval regulations much superior to those of the other nations, and which they have since adopted, obtained the sanction of the laws. Seamen emerged from the midst of the ocean as it were, already formed. In less than twenty years the harbours of the kingdom reckoned one hundred ships of the line.

THE French navy first exerted it's power against the people of Barbary, who were beaten. It afterwards obtained some advantages over the Spaniards. It then engaged the fleets of England

BOOK
XIX.

land and Holland, sometimes 'separately,' and sometimes combined, and generally obtained the honour and advantage of the victory. The first memorable defeat the French navy experienced, was in 1692, when with forty ships they attacked 90 English and Dutch ships opposite La Hogue, in order to give the English a king they rejected, and who was not himself very desirous of the title. The most numerous fleet obtained the victory. James the Second felt an involuntary pleasure at the triumph of the people who expelled him; as if at this instant the blind love of his country had prevailed within him, over his ambition for the throne. Since that day the naval powers of France have been upon the decline, and it was impossible that they should not be.

LEWIS XIV. accustomed to carry on his enterprises with more haughtiness than method, more ambitious of appearing powerful than of being really so, had begun by completing the higher parts of his military navy before he had settled it's foundation. The only solid basis which could have been given to it would have been an extensive commercial navy, carried on with activity; and there was not even the shadow of such a thing existing in the kingdom. The trade with the East Indies was still in it's infancy. The Dutch had appropriated to themselves the small quantity of commodities which the American Islands then produced. The French had not yet thought of giving to the great fisheries that degree of extension of which they were susceptible. There were no French vessels admitted in the northern harbours, and the southern very seldom saw any. The State had even given up it's coasting trade to foreigners. Was it not therefore unavoidable that this colossus should be overturned, and the illusion dissipated upon the first

first remarkable check which this proud display of power should receive? BOOK
XIX.

FROM that period England acquired a superiority, which hath raised her to the greatest prosperity. A people, who are at present the most considerable power at sea, easily persuade themselves that they have always holden that empire. Sometimes they trace their maritime power to the æra of Julius Cæsar, sometimes they assert that they have ruled over the ocean, at least, since the ninth century. Perhaps, some day or other, the Corsicans, who are at present a nation of little consequence, when they are become a maritime people, will record in their annals that they have always ruled over the Mediterranean: Such is the vanity of man, which must endeavour to aggrandize itself in past as well as future ages. Truth alone, which exists before all nations, and survives them all, informs us, that there hath been no navy in Europe from the christian æra till the 16th century. The English themselves had no need of it, while they remained in possession of Normandy and of the coasts of France.

WHEN Henry VIII. was desirous of equipping a fleet, he was obliged to hire vessels from Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Dantzic; but especially from Genoa and Venice, in which states it was only known how to build and conduct a fleet; which supplied sailors and admirals; and which gave to Europe a Columbus, an Americus, a Cabot, and a Verezani, those wonderful men who by their discoveries have added so much to the extent of the globe. Elizabeth was in want of a naval force against Spain, and permitted her subjects to fit out ships to act against the enemies of the state. This permission formed sailors for the service. The queen herself went to see a ship that had been round the world; on board of which she

B O O K she embraced Drake, at the time she knighted
XIX. him. She left forty-two men of war to her successors. James and Charles the first added some ships to the naval forces they had received from the throne; but the commanders of this navy were chosen from the nobility, who, satisfied with this mark of distinction, left the labours to the pilots; so that the art of navigation received no improvements.

THERE were few noblemen in the party that dethroned the Stuarts. Ships of the line were at that time given to captains of inferior birth, but of uncommon skill in navigation. They improved, and rendered the English navy illustrious.

WHEN Charles II. reascended the throne, the kingdom was possessed of six and fifty ships. The navy increased under his reign, to the number of eighty-three, fifty-eight of which were ships of the line. Nevertheless, towards the latter days of this prince, it began to decline again. But his brother, James II., restored it to it's former lustre, and raised it even to a greater degree of splendour. Being himself high-admiral before he came to the throne, he had invented the art of regulating the manœuvres of the fleet, by the signals of the flag. Happy, if he had better understood the art of governing a free people! When the prince of Orange, his son-in-law, became possessed of his crown, the English navy consisted of one hundred and sixty-three vessels of all sizes, armed with seven thousand pieces of cannon, and equipped with forty-two thousand men. This force was doubled during the war that was carried on for the Spanish succession. It hath since so considerably increased, that the English think they are able alone to balance, by their maritime forces, the navy of the whole universe. England is

is now at sea, what Rome formerly was upon land, when she began to decline.

BOOK
XIX.

THE English nation considered it's navy as the bulwark of it's safety, and the source of it's riches. On this they found all their hopes in times of peace as well as war. They therefore raise a fleet more willingly, and with greater expedition than a battalion. They spare no expence, and exert every political art to acquire seamen.

THE foundations of this power were laid in the middle of the last century by the famous act of navigation, which secured to the English all the productions of their vast empire, and which promised them a great share in those of other regions. This law seemed to advise all people to think only of themselves. This lesson however hath been of no use hitherto, and no government hath made it the rule of their conduct. It is possible that the eyes of men may soon be opened, but Great Britain will however have enjoyed, during the space of more than a century, the fruits of it's foresight; and will perhaps have acquired, during that long interval, sufficient strength to perpetuate her advantages. It may readily be supposed that she is inclined to employ all possible means to prevent the explosion of that mine, which time is gradually and slowly digging under the foundation of her fortune, and to declare war against the first people who shall attempt to blow it up. Her formidable fleets impatiently expect the signal of hostilities. Their activity and their vigilance is redoubled, since it hath been decided, that the prizes were to belong entirely to the officers and the crews of the victorious ship, since the state hath granted a gratuity of one hundred and thirty-two livres ten sols *, to

* 5l. 10s 5d.

BOOK
XIX

every person who should board, take, or sink; any of the enemies ships. This allurements of gain will be increased if it be necessary by other rewards. Will the nations which are so habitually divided by their interests and by their jealousies, consent together to suppress this boldness, and if one of them should undertake it separately, will it succeed in this terrible conflict?

THE navy is a new species of power, which hath given the universe in some measure to Europe. This part of the globe, though so limited, hath acquired by it's squadrons an absolute empire over the rest, which are much more extensive. It hath seized upon those regions that were suitable to it, and hath placed under it's dependence the inhabitants and productions of all countries. A superiority so advantageous will last for ever, unless some event, which it is impossible to foresee, should disgust our descendants of an element in which shipwrecks are so frequent. As long as they shall have any fleets remaining they will pave the way for revolutions, they will draw along with them the destinies of nations, and they will be the levers of the world.

BUT it is not only to the extremities of the world or in barbarous regions that ships have carried terror and dictated laws. Their influence hath been sensibly felt even in the midst of ourselves, and hath disturbed the ancient systems of things. A new kind of equilibrium hath been formed, and the balance of power hath been transferred from the continent to the maritime nations. In proportion as the nature of their forces brought them nearer to all countries bordering upon the ocean and it's several gulphs, so they have had it in their power to do good or mischief to the greater number of states; consequently they must have had more allies, more consideration,

tion, and more influence. These advantages BOOK
XIX. have been evident to the governments, which by their situation were at hand to share them; and there is scarce any one which hath not exerted greater or less efforts to succeed in it.

SINCE nature hath decided that men must be in perpetual agitation upon our planet, and that they should continually disturb it with their inquietude; it is a fortunate circumstance for modern times, that the forces of the sea should make a diversion from those of the land. A power which hath coasts to protect will not easily encroach upon the territories of it's neighbours. It would require immense preparations, innumerable troops, arsenals of all kinds, and a double supply of means and of resources to execute it's project of conquest. Since Europe hath employed it's forces on the sea, it enjoys greater security than before. It's wars are perhaps as frequent and as bloody, but it is less ravaged and less weakened by them. The operations are carried on with greater harmony and with more regular plans, and there are less of those great effects which derange all systems. There are greater efforts and less shocks. All the passions are turned towards one certain general good, one grand political aim, towards a happy employment of all the natural and moral powers, which is commerce.

THE importance to which the navy has arisen, will lead, in process of time, every thing which has a greater or less distant affinity to it, to the degree of perfection it is susceptible of: till the middle of the last century an uncertain routine was followed in the construction of ships. *One knows not what the sea requires*, was still a common proverb. At this period geometry carried it's attention to this art, which was becoming every day more interesting, and applied to it
some

B O O K
XIX.

some of it's principles. Since that, it's attention has been more seriously engaged, and always with success. Matters, however, are still far from being brought to demonstration, for there is still great variety in the dimensions adopted in the different docks.

In proportion as the navy became a science, it became a necessary object of study to those who engaged in this profession. They were made to understand, though very slowly, that those commanders who had general ideas, founded upon mathematical rules, would have a great superiority over officers, who having nothing but habit to lead them, could only judge of the things they had to do from their analogy to those which they had already seen. Schools were opened on all sides, where young men were instructed in naval tactics, and in other knowledge of equal importance.

This was something, but it was not all. In a profession where the disposition of the sea and of the currents, the motion of the ships, the strength and variety of the winds, the frequent accidents from fire, the ordinary breaking of the sails and ropes, and many other circumstances, infinitely multiply the plans, where, in the midst of the noise of cannon, and of the greatest dangers, one must instantly take a resolution, which shall determine at once either victory or defeat; where the evolutions must be so rapid, that they seem rather to be the effect of sentiment than the result of reflection: in such a profession, the most learned theory cannot be sufficient. Deprived of that certain and speedy effect of sight, which practice, and that the most constant, can only give, it would lose in reflection the time for action. Experience must therefore complete the seaman, whose education hath been begun by the study of the

the exact sciences. In process of time, this union BOOK
XIX.
of theory with practice, must prevail in every place where there are navigators, but no where more speedily than in an island, because arts are sooner brought to perfection, wherever they are of indispensable necessity.

For the same reason, in an island there will be better sailors, and more of them; but, will they be treated with that justice and humanity which is due to them? Let us suppose that one of them, who hath fortunately escaped from the devouring heats of the line, from the horror of storms, and from the intemperature of climates, returns from a voyage of several years, and from the extremities of the globe. His wife expects him with impatience; his children are anxious to see a father whose name hath been repeated to them a multitude of times; he himself soothes his anxiety, by the pleasing hope that he shall soon see again what is most dear to him in the world; and anticipates by his wishes, the delightful moment when his heart will be comforted in the tender embraces of his family. All at once, at the approach of the shore, within sight of his country, he is forcibly taken out of the ship, in which he had braved the fury of the waves in order to enrich his fellow-citizens, and is put, by a set of infamous satellites, on board of a fleet, where thirty or forty thousand of his brave companions are to share his misfortunes, till the end of hostilities. In vain do their tears flow, in vain do they appeal to the laws; their destiny is irrevocably fixed. This is a feeble image of the atrociousness of the English mode of pressing.

In our absolute governments another mode is adopted; perhaps, in fact, as cruel, though apparently more moderate. The sailor is there enlisted, and for life. He is employed or dis-

BOOK
XIV
banded at pleasure, his pay is regulated by caprice, which also fixes the period when he shall receive it. Both in time of peace, as in time of war, he hath never any will of his own, but is always under the rod of a subaltern despot, most commonly unjust, cruel, and interested. The greatest difference I can observe between these two modes is, that the former is only a temporary servitude, the latter is a slavery which hath no end.

NEVERTHELESS, we shall find some apologists, and perhaps some admirers of these inhuman customs. It will be said, that in a state of society, the wills of individuals must always be subject to the general will, and that their convenience must always be sacrificed to the public good. Such hath been the practice of all nations, and of all ages. It is upon this basis alone that all institutions, ill or well planned, have been founded. They will never deviate from this central point, without hastening the inevitable period of their ruin.

UNDOUBTEDLY the republic must be served, and that by the citizens: but, is it not just that every one should contribute to this service, according to his means? In order to preserve to the possessor of millions, often unjust, the entire enjoyment of his fortune, and of his delights, must the unfortunate sailor be obliged to sacrifice two thirds of his salary, the wants of his family, and the most valuable of his property, his liberty? Would not the country be served with more zeal, with more vigour, and understanding, by men, who should voluntarily devote to it all the natural and moral powers they have acquired, or exercised, upon all the seas, than by slaves, who are necessarily and incessantly employed in attending to the breaking of their chains? Improperly

perly will the administrators of empires allege, in justification of their atrocious conduct, that these navigators would refuse to employ their hands, and exert their courage in engagements, if they were not dragged to them against their inclinations. Every circumstance confirms that their most favourite object would be to follow their professions; and it is demonstrated, that even if they had any dislike to it, still their necessities, which are ever renewed, would compel them to attend to it.

But wherefore should we not declare, that governments are as well convinced as those who censure them, of the injustice they commit towards their sailors; but they choose rather to erect tyranny into a principle, than to own that it is impossible for them to be just. In the present state of things, all of them, and more especially some, have raised their naval forces beyond what their circumstances would allow. Their pride hath not yet suffered them to descend from that exaggerated grandeur with which they had intoxicated both themselves and their neighbours. The time will come, however, and it cannot be very distant, when it will be necessary to proportion armaments to the resources of an exhausted treasury. This will be a fortunate epocha for Europe, if it should follow so bright an example. That part of the world which possesses at present three hundred and ninety-two ships of the line, and four times that number of ships of war of an inferior order, will derive great advantages from this revolution. The ocean will then be ploughed with fewer fleets, and those will consist of a less number of ships. The mercantile navy will be enriched from the military navy; and commerce will acquire a

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greater

BOOK XIX. greater degree of extention throughout the whole universe.

Com-
merce.

COMMERCE produces nothing of itself; for it is not of a plastic nature. It's business consists in exchanges. By it's operations, a town, a province, a nation, a part of the globe are disencumbered of what is useless to them; and receive what they are in want of. It is perpetually engaged in supplying the respective wants of men. It's knowledge, it's funds, and it's labours, are all devoted to this honourable and necessary office. It's influence could not exist without the arts, and without cultivation: but these would be very insignificant without it's influence. By pervading the earth, by crossing the seas, by raising the obstacles which opposed themselves to the intercourse of nations, by extending the sphere of wants, and the thirst of enjoyments, it multiplies labour, it encourages industry; and becomes, in some measure, the moving principle of the world.

THE Phenicians were the first merchants of whom history hath preserved the remembrance. Situated on the borders of the sea, on the confines of Asia and Africa, to receive and dispense all the riches of the ancient world, they founded their colonies, and built their cities, with no other view but that of commerce. At Tyre, they were the masters of the Mediterranean; at Carthage, they laid the foundations of a republic that traded, by the ocean, upon the richest of the European coasts.

THE Greeks succeeded the Phenicians, as the Romans did the Carthaginians and the Greeks; they held the dominion of the sea as well as of the land; but they carried on no other kind of commerce, except that of conveying into Italy, for their own use, all the riches of Africa, Asia, and

and the conquered world. When Rome had invaded the whole world, and had lost all her acquisitions, commerce returned, as it were, to its original source towards the East. There it was established, while the Barbarians over-ran Europe. The empire was divided; the din of arms, and the art of war remained in the West; Italy, however, preserved its communication with the Levant, where all the treasures of India were circulated.

B O O K
XIX

* THE Crusades exhausted in Asia all the rage of zeal and ambition, of war and fanaticism, with which the Europeans were possessed; but they were the cause of introducing into Europe a taste for Asiatic luxury; and redeemed, by giving rise to some degree of traffic and industry, the blood and the lives they had cost. Three centuries, taken up in wars and voyages to the East, gave to the restless spirit of Europe a recruit it stood in need of, that it might not perish by a kind of internal consumption: they prepared the way for that exertion of genius and activity, which since arose, and displayed itself in the conquest and trade of the East-Indies, and of America.

* THE Portuguese attempted, by degrees, and with circumspection, to double the African coast. It was not till after fourscore years of labours and of war; and after having made themselves masters of all the western coast of that vast region, that they ventured to double the Cape of Good Hope. The honour of clearing this formidable barrier was reserved to Vasco de Gama, in 1497, who at length reached the coast of Malabar, where all the treasures of the most fertile countries of Asia were to be circulated. This was the scene on which the Portuguese displayed all their conquests.

WHILE

BOOK
XIX.

WHILE this nation made itself master of the articles of trade, the Spaniards seized upon that which purchases them, the mines of gold and silver. These metals became not only a standard to regulate the value, but also the object of commerce. In this double use they soon engrossed all the rest. All nations were in want of them to facilitate the exchange of their commodities, and obtain the conveniences they stood in need of. The luxury and the circulation of money in the south of Europe, changed the nature as well as the direction of commerce, at the same time that it extended it's bounds.

IN the mean while, the two nations that had subdued the East and West Indies, neglected arts and agriculture. They imagined every thing was to be obtained by gold, without considering that it is labour alone that procures it: they were convinced, though late, and at their own expence, that the industry which they lost, was more valuable than the riches they acquired; and the Dutch taught them this severe lesson.

THE Spaniards, and the Portuguese, though possessed of all the gold in the world, remained or became poor; the Dutch presently acquired riches, without either lands or mines. As soon as these intrepid republicans had taken refuge in the midst of the seas, with Liberty their tutelary divinity, they perceived that their morasses would never be any thing more than the seat of their habitation, and that they should be obliged to seek resources and subsistence elsewhere. They cast their eyes over the globe, and said to themselves: "The whole world is our domain; we will enjoy it by navigation and commerce. The revolutions which shall happen upon this immense, and perpetually agitated scene, will never be concealed from our knowledge.

"Indo-

" Indolence and activity, slavery and independ- B O O K
 " ence, barbarism and civilization, opulence and XIX
 " poverty, culture and industry, purchases and
 " sales, the vices and the virtues of men; we
 " will turn them all to our advantage. We will
 " encourage the labours of the nations, or we
 " will impede their prosperity; we will urge them
 " on to war, or we will endeavour to restore
 " tranquillity among them, as it may be most
 " suitable to our own interests."

TILL that period, Flanders had been the center of communication between the North and the South of Europe. The United Provinces of Holland, which had detached themselves from it, in order to belong only to themselves, took it's place, and became, in their turn, the staple of all the powers which had more or less exchanges to make.

THE ambition of the new republic was limited to this first advantage. After having drawn in to it's ports the productions of other countries, it's navigators went themselves in quest of them. Holland soon became an immense magazine, where all the productions of the several climates were collected; and this union of so many important objects increased continually, in proportion as the wants of the people were multiplied, with the means of satisfying them. One merchandise attracted another. The commodities of the Old World invited those of the New. One purchaser brought another; and the treasures already acquired, became a certain method of acquiring more.

EVERY circumstance was favourable to the rise and progress of the commerce of this republic. It's position on the borders of the sea, at the mouths of several great rivers, it's proximity to the most fertile or best cultivated lands of Europe;

BOOK
XIX.

rope; it's natural connections with England and Germany, which defended it against France; the little extent and fertility of it's own soil, which obliged the inhabitants to become fishermen, sailors, brokers, bankers, carriers, and commissaries; in a word, to endeavour to live by industry for want of territory. Moral causes contributed, with those of the climate and the soil, to establish and advance it's prosperity. The liberty of it's government, which opened an asylum to all strangers dissatisfied with their own; the freedom of it's religion, which permitted a public and quiet profession of all other modes of worship; that is to say, the agreement of the voice of nature with that of conscience, of interests with duty; in a word, that toleration, that universal religion of all equitable and enlightened minds, friends to heaven and earth; to God, as to their father; to men, as to their brethren. Finally, this commercial republic found out the secret of availing itself of all events, and of making even the calamities and vices of other nations concur in advancing it's felicity. It turned to it's own advantage the civil wars which fanaticism had raised among people of a restless spirit, or which patriotism had excited among a free people; it profited by the indolence and ignorance which bigotry supported among two nations who were under the influence of the imagination.

THIS spirit of industry in Holland, with which was intermixed a considerable share of that political art which sows the seeds of jealousy and discord among the nations, at length excited the attention of other powers. The English were the first to perceive that traffic might be carried on without the interposition of the Dutch. England, where the incroachments of despotism had given birth to liberty, because they were antecedent to

corruption and effeminacy, was desirous of obtaining riches by labour, which is their antidote. BOOK
XIX.
The English first considered commerce as the proper science and support of an enlightened, powerful, and even a virtuous people. They considered it rather as an improvement of industry than an acquisition of enjoyments: rather as an encouragement and a source of activity in favour of population, than as a promoter of luxury and magnificence, for the purpose of parade. Invited to trade by their situation, this became the spirit of their government, and the means of their ambition. All their schemes tended to this great object. In other monarchies, trade is carried on by the people; in this happy constitution by the state, or the whole nation: she carries it on indeed with a constant desire of dominion, which implies that of enslaving other people, but by means, at least, which constitute the happiness of the world before it is subdued. By war, the conqueror is little happier than the conquered; because injuries and massacres are their mutual object: but by commerce, the conquering people necessarily introduce industry into the country, which they would not have subdued if it had been already industrious, or in which they would not maintain themselves, if they had not brought industry along with them. Upon these principles England had founded her commerce and her empire, and mutually and alternately extended one by the other.

THE French, situated under as favourable a sky, and upon as happy a soil, have, for a long time, flattered themselves with the idea that they had much to give to other nations, without being under a necessity of asking scarce any return. But Colbert was sensible that in the ferment Europe was in at that time, there would be an evident advantage for the culture and productions of :
country.

BOOK XIX. country that should employ those of the whole world. He opened manufactures for all the arts. The woollens, silks, dyes, embroideries, the gold and silver stuffs; all acquired, in the establishments the operations of which he directed, a degree of perfection, which the other manufactures could not attain. To increase the utility of these arts, it was necessary to possess the materials for them. The culture of them was encouraged according to the diversity of climates and territory. Some of them were required even of the provinces of the kingdom; and the rest from the colonies, which chance had given it in the New World, as well as from all the navigators who had for a century past infested the seas with their robberies. The nation must then necessarily have made a double profit upon the materials and the workmanship of the manufactures. The French pursued, for a long time, this precarious and temporary object of commerce, with an activity and spirit of emulation which must have made them greatly surpass their rivals; and they still enjoy that superiority over other nations, in all those arts of luxury and ornament which procure riches to industry.

The natural volatility of the national character, and it's propensity to trifling pursuits, hath brought treasures to the state, by the taste that has fortunately prevailed for it's fashions. Like to that light and delicate sex, which teaches and inspires us with a taste for dress, the French reign in all courts, and in all regions, respecting every thing that concerns ornament or magnificence, and their art of pleasing is one of the mysterious sources of their fortune and power. Other nations have subdued the world by those simple and rustic manners, which constitute the virtues that are fit for war; to them it was given to reign over.

it by their vices. Their empire will continue, till being degraded and enslaved by their masters, by exertions of authority equally arbitrary and unlimited, they will become contemptible in their own eyes. Then they will lose, with their confidence in themselves, that industry, which is one of the sources of their opulence and of the springs of their activity.

GERMANY, which hath only a few ports, and those bad ones, hath been obliged to behold, with an indifferent or a jealous eye, it's ambitious neighbours enriching themselves with the spoils of the sea, and of the East and the West Indies. It's industry hath been restrained even upon it's frontiers, which were perpetually ravaged by destructive wars, and as far as into the interior part of it's provinces, by the nature of it's constitution, which is singularly complicated. A great deal of time, extensive knowledge, and considerable efforts, would be requisite, to establish a commerce of any importance in a region where every thing seemed unfavourable to it. This period, however, is now at hand. Flax and hemp are already industriously cultivated, and appear under agreeable forms. Wool and cotton are wrought with skill; and other manufactures are begun or improved. If, as the laborious and steady character of the inhabitants induces us to hope, the empire should ever attain to the advantage of paying, with it's own productions and manufactures, for those which it is obliged to provide itself with from other nations; and to preserve within itself the metals which are extracted from it's mines, it will soon become one of the most opulent countries of Europe.

It would be absurd to announce so brilliant a destiny to the northern nations, although commerce hath also begun to meliorate their condition.

BOOK XIX. dition. The iron of their rude climate, which formerly served only for their mutual destruction, hath been turned to uses beneficial to mankind, and part of that which they used to deliver in it's rough state, is never sold at present till after it hath been wrought. They have found a mart for their naval stores at a higher price than they were formerly sold for, before navigation had acquired that prodigious extension which astonishes us. If some of those people indolently wait for purchasers in their harbours, others carry out their productions themselves into foreign ports, and this activity extends their ideas, their transactions, and their advantages.

This new principle of the moral world, hath insinuated itself by degrees, till it is become, as it were, necessary to the formation and existence of political bodies. The taste for luxury and conveniences hath produced the love of labour, which at present constitutes the chief strength of a state. The sedentary occupations of the mechanic arts indeed, render men more liable to be affected by the injuries of the seasons, less fit to be exposed to the open air which is the first nutritive principle of life. But still, it is better that the human race should be enervated under the roofs of the workshops, than inured to hardships under tents; because war destroys, while commerce, on the contrary, gives new life to every thing. By this useful revolution in manners, the general maxims of politics have altered the face of Europe. It is no longer a people immersed in poverty that becomes formidable to a rich nation. Power is at present an attendant on riches, because they are no longer the fruit of conquest, but the produce of constant labour, and of a life spent in perpetual employment. Gold and silver corrupt only those indolent minds which indulge

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in the delights of luxury, upon the stage of intrigue and meanness, that is called greatness. But these metals employ the hands and arms of the people; they excite a spirit of agriculture in the fields; of navigation in the maritime cities; and in the center of the state they lead to the manufacturing of arms, clothing, furniture, and the construction of buildings. A spirit of emulation exists between man and nature: they are perpetually improving each other. The people are formed and fashioned by the arts they profess. If there be some occupations which soften and degrade the human race, there are others by which it is hardened and repaired. If it be true that art renders them unnatural, they do not, at least, propagate in order to destroy themselves, as among the barbarous nations in heroic times. It is certainly an easy, as well as a captivating subject, to describe the Romans with the single art of war, subduing all the other arts, all other nations indolent or commercial, civilized or savage; breaking or despising the vases of Corinth, more happy with their Gods made of clay, than with the golden statues of their worthless emperors. But it is a more pleasing, and perhaps a nobler sight, to behold all Europe peopled with laborious nations, who are continually sailing round the globe, in order to cultivate and render it fit for mankind; to see them animate, by the enlivening breath of industry, all the regenerating powers of nature; seek in the abyss of the ocean, and in the bowels of rocks, for new means of subsistence, or new enjoyments; stir and raise up the earth with all the mechanic powers invented by genius; establish between the two hemispheres, by the happy improvements in the art of navigation, a communication of flying bridges, as it were, that re-unite one continent to the other;

BOOK
XIX.

BOOK

XIX.

conceal the crime and the meanness of such proceedings. *I do no more*, it is said, *than what others do*, and thus we accustom ourselves to commit actions which our conscience soon ceases to reproach us with.

THESE kinds of fraud do not appear so in the eyes of those who indulge themselves in them. As they are common to all professions, do they not reciprocally expiate each other? I take out of the purse of those who deal with me, what those whom I have dealt with have taken too much out of mine. Will it be required, that a merchant, a workman, or any individual whatever, should suffer the tacit and secret oppressions of all those to whom his daily wants oblige him to address himself, without ever seeking his indemnity from any one of them? Since every thing is compensated by general injustice, all will be as well as if the most rigid justice prevailed.

BUT can there be any kind of compensation in these rapines of detail exercised by one class of citizens over all the rest, or in those exercised by the latter over the former? Are all professions in equal want of each other? Several of them, which are exposed to frauds incessantly renewed, do they not mostly want opportunities of imposing in their turn? Do not circumstances make an alteration from one day to another in the proportion there is between these impositions? These observations will perhaps appear too trifling; let us therefore be allowed to dwell upon one more important reflection. Will any wise man think it to be a matter of indifference that iniquity should be practised with impunity, and almost with universal consent, in all states; that the body of a nation should be corrupt, and to a degree of corruption that knows neither restraint nor bounds; and that there is a material difference between a

theft

theft which hath the sanction of custom and is BOOK
daily repeated, and any other possible act of in- XIX.

THE evil must, however, be thought irremediable, at least with respect to retail trades, since the only system of morality applicable to those who follow them, is comprised in these maxims: "Endeavour not to be dishonoured in your profession. If you sell dearer than other people, keep up at least the reputation of selling better merchandise. Gain as much as you can; and especially avoid the having of two prices for your goods. Make your fortune as speedily as you can. If you should not be ill-spoken of, and should not forfeit your character, all is well." Honester principles might be substituted to these; but it would be in vain. The trifling daily profits, those niggardly savings which constitute essential resources in some professions, lower and degrade the soul, and extinguish in it all sense of dignity, and nothing truly laudable can be either recommended to, or expected from, a species of men who have arrived to such a pitch of degradation.

It is not the same thing with those whose speculations embrace all the countries of the earth, whose complicated operations connect the most distant nations, and by whose means the whole universe becomes one single family. These men may have a noble idea of their profession, and it is almost unnecessary to say to most of them, Be honest in your dealings; because dishonesty, while it would be prejudicial to you, ~~it~~ would also be injurious to your fellow-citizens, and asperse the character of your nation.

Do not abuse your credit; that is to say, in case of any unexpected misfortune, let your own funds be able to replace those you have obtained from

BOOK
XIX

completed; but the least shock to your credit may be followed by the worst of catastrophes. I have known an instance in which, at the end of twenty years, it had not yet been forgotten, that an opulent company had stopped payment for the space of four and twenty hours.

THE credit of a merchant is recovered with still greater difficulty, than the honour of a woman: Nothing but a kind of miracle can put a stop to an alarm which spreads itself instantaneously from one hemisphere of the globe to the other.

THE merchant ought not to be less jealous of his credit, than the military man of his honour.

IF you have any elevation of mind, you will rather choose to serve your fellow-citizens with less advantage, than foreigners at a less risk, with less trouble, and with more profit.

PREFER an honest to a more lucrative speculation.

IT hath been said, that the merchant, the banker, and the factor, being citizens of the world by profession, were not citizens of any particular country. Let such injurious discourse no longer be holden against you.

IF, when you quit trade, you should only enjoy among your fellow-citizens that degree of consideration granted to considerable riches, you will not have acquired every thing which you might have obtained from commerce.

THE contempt of riches is perhaps incompatible with the spirit of commerce: but woe be to those in whom that spirit should exclude all sentiments of honour.

I HAVE raised an altar in my heart to four classes of citizens: to, the philosopher, who searches after truth, who enlightens the nations, and who preaches, by his example, virtue to men; to the magistrate, who knows how to maintain

maintain an equal balance of justice; to the military man, who defends his country; and to the honest merchant, who enriches and honours it. The husbandman, by whom we are fed, will excuse me for having forgotten him. BOOK
XIX.

IF the merchant doth not consider himself among this distinguished rank of citizens, he doth not hold himself in sufficient estimation. He forgets, that in his morning's work a few strokes of his pen put the four quarters of the world in motion for their mutual happiness.

SUFFER not yourselves to indulge any base jealousy for the prosperity of another. If you thwart his operations without any motive, you are a bad man; and if you happen to discover his operations, and appropriate them to yourself, you will have robbed him.

THE influence of gold is as fatal to individuals as to nations. If you do not take care, you will be intoxicated with it. You will be desirous of heaping wealth upon wealth, and you will become either avaricious or prodigal. If you be avaricious, you will be rigid, and the sentiment of commiseration and benevolence will be extinguished within you. If you be prodigal, after having wasted the prime of your life in acquiring riches, you will be reduced to indigence by extravagant expences; and if you should escape this misfortune, you will not escape contempt.

OPEN sometimes your purse to the unfortunate and industrious man.

IF you wish to be honoured during your life, and after your death, consecrate a part of your fortune to some monument of public utility. Woe to your heirs, if they be displeased at this expence.

REMEMBER, that when a man dies who hath nothing but his wealth to boast of, he is no loss to society.

BOOK XIX. THESE maxims, which we have allowed ourselves to recall to the memory of man, have always been, and will always be true. If it should happen that they should appear, problematical to some of those persons whose actions they are intended to regulate, the public authority must be blamed for it. The rapacious and servile treasury encourage in all parts private injustice, by the general acts of injustice they are seen to commit. They oppress commerce with the numberless imposts they lay upon it; they degrade the merchant, by the injurious suspicions which they are incessantly throwing out against his probity; they render, in some measure, fraud necessary, by the fatal invention of monopolies.

MONOPOLY is the exclusive privilege of one citizen, over all others, to buy or to sell. At this definition every sensible man will start, and say: Among citizens, all equals, all serving society, all contributing to it's expences, in proportion to their means, how is it possible that one of them should have a right, of which another is legally deprived? What matter, then, is this, so sacred in it's nature, that any man whatever cannot acquire it, if he be in want of it; or dispose of it, if it should belong to him.

If any one could pretend to this privilege, it would undoubtedly be the sovereign. Nevertheless, he cannot do it, for he is nothing more than the first of the citizens. The body of the nation may gratify him with it; but then it is only an act of deference, and not the consequence of a prerogative, which would necessarily be tyrannical. If, therefore, the sovereign cannot arrogate it to himself, much less can he confer it upon another. We cannot give away what is not our legitimate property.

BUT

BUT if, contrary to the nature of things, there should exist a people, having some pretensions to liberty, and where the chief hath nevertheless arrogated to himself, or conferred a monopoly on another, what hath been the consequence of this infringement of general rights? Rebellion undoubtedly. No; it ought to have been, although it has not. The reason of this is, that a society is an assemblage of men, employed in different functions, having different interests, jealous, pusillanimous, preferring the peaceable enjoyment of what is left them, to the having recourse to arms in the defence of what is taken from them; living by the side of each other, and pressing upon each other, without any concurrence of inclination: it is because this unanimity, so useful, if even it should subsist among them, would neither give them the courage nor the strength they are in want of, and consequently neither the hope of conquering, nor the resolution of perishing: it is, because they would see for themselves an imminent danger in a fruitless attempt, while in success they would see only advantages for their descendants, whom they have less regard for than they have for themselves. - - - Sometimes, however, this circumstance hath happened. - - - Yes; but it was brought about by the enthusiasm of fanaticism.

BUT in whatever country monopoly may have taken place, it hath produced nothing but devastation. Exclusive privileges have ruined the Old and the New World. There is no infant colony in the New Hemisphere which hath not been either weakened or destroyed by it. In our hemisphere, there is no flourishing country the splendour of which it hath not extinguished; no enterprise, however brilliant, which it hath not obscured; no circumstance, more or less flattering,

BOOK XIX. King, which it hath not turned to the general detriment.

BUT by what fatality hath all this happened? It was not a fatality, but, a necessity. It hath been done, because it was necessary it should be done, and for this reason: because the possessor of a privilege, however powerful he may be, can never have either the credit or the resources of a whole nation: because his monopoly not being able to last for ever, he avails himself of it as fast as he can, sees nothing but the present moment, and every thing which is beyond the term of his exclusive privilege is nothing to him; he chooses rather to be less rich without waiting, than more rich by waiting. By an instinct natural to men, whose enjoyments are founded upon injustice, tyranny, and vexation, he is perpetually in dread of the suppression of a privilege fatal to all. This has happened, because his interest is all to himself, and the interest of the nation is nothing to him: it is because, for a small and momentary advantage, but for a certain one, he scruples not to do a great and permanent mischief: it is because the exclusive privilege, when it comes to the spot where it is to be exercised, introduces along with it the train of all persecutions: it is because by the folly, the vague extent, or the extension of the terms of his grant, and by the power of him who hath either granted or protects it, he becomes master of all, interferes with every thing, he restrains and destroys every thing; he will annihilate a branch of industry useful to all, in order to compel another branch, prejudicial to all but himself; he will pretend to command the soil, as he hath commanded the labours, and the ground must cease producing what is proper to it, in order to produce only what is suitable to the monopoly, or

or to become barren; for he will prefer barren-BOOK
XIX.
ness to a fertility which interferes with him, and
scarcity which he does not feel, to plenty which
might diminish his profits: it is because, accord-
ing to the nature of the thing of which he hath
got the exclusive trade, if it be an article of
primary necessity, he will starve at once a whole
country, or leave it quite bare; if it be not an
article of primary necessity, he will soon be able,
by indirect means, to make it one, and he will
still starve, and leave quite bare the country,
which he will easily deprive of the means of ac-
quiring this article: it is because it is almost
possible for him, who is the sole vender, to make
himself, by contrivances as artful and deep as
they are atrocious, the only buyer; and that
then he will put at pleasure the articles he sells, at
a very exorbitant price; and that which the peo-
ple are obliged to sell to him, at a very low one.
Then it is, that the seller, being disgusted of a
branch of industry, of a culture and of a labour
which doth not bring him the equivalent of his
expences, every thing goes to ruin, and the na-
tion falls into misery.

THE term of the exclusive privileges expires,
and the possessor of it retires opulent; but the
opulence of a single man, raised upon the ruin of
the multitude, is a great evil, and therefore why
bath it not been obviated? Wherefore is it not
opposed? From the prejudice, as *cruel* as it is
absurd, that it is a matter of indifference to the
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or of another; whether it be confined to one man,
or distributed among several. *Absurd*, because in
all cases, and especially in those of great neces-
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XIX. small number of men, who possess a great de
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which attend them; the ruin of the state, and the contempt of public faith. After these acts of infidelity, which cannot be mentioned without exciting a blush, the nation is plunged into desolation. In the midst of several millions of unfortunate wretches, there arises the proud head of some extortioners, gorged with riches, and insulting over the misery of all. The empire enervated, totters for some time on the borders of the abyss into which it falls, amongst the acclamations of contempt and ridicule from it's neighbours; unless heaven should raise up a saviour in it's favour, whom it always expects, but who doth not always arrive, or who is soon disgusted by the general persecution he experiences from those villains of whom he is the terror.

BOOK
XIX.

THE obstacles with which the several governments clog the trade which their subjects either carry on, or ought to carry on, among themselves, are still much more multiplied in that trade which is carried on between one state and the rest. This jealousy of the powers, which is almost of modern date, might be taken for a secret conspiracy to ruin each other, without advantage to any one of them.

THOSE who govern the people, exert the same skill in guarding against the industry of the nations, as in preserving themselves from the artifices of the intriguing men by whom they are surrounded. Acts of violence and reciprocal enmity universally prevail in all parts. Some ignorant, mean, and corrupt men, have filled Europe, and the whole world, with a multitude of unbearable restraints, which have been more and more extended. Centinels and obstacles are placed in every part of the sea and of the land. The traveller enjoys no repose, the merchant no property; both are equally exposed to all the snares
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BOOK
XIX.

the little that is taken from them; and to a very small number of men, who possess a great deal, and who give a little, or indeed who never give in proportion to what they possess; and whose contribution, if even it were upon a level with their wealth, would never yield the hundredth part of what might have been obtained, without exaction, and without murmur, from a numerous set of people in easy circumstances. Cruel, because, with equal advantages, it would be an act of inhumanity to compel the multitude to want and to suffer.

BUT is the exclusive privilege gratuitously granted? Sometimes; and it is then a mark of acknowledgement either for great services, or for a long train of mean servilities, or the result of the intrigues of a series of subalterns, bought and sold; one extremity of which series comes from the lowest classes of society, while the other is contiguous to the throne; and that is what is called protection. When sold, it is never for its full value, and that for several reasons. It is impossible that the price paid for it can compensate for the ravages it occasions. Its value cannot yet be known, neither by the chief of the nation, who knows nothing, nor by his representative, who is often as ill informed, beside that he is sometimes a traitor to his master and to his country; nor even by the purchaser himself, who always calculates his acquisition by the rate of its least produce. In a word, these shameful bargains being mostly made in times of crisis, the administration accepts a sum little proportioned to the value of the thing, but advanced in the moment of urgent necessity, or, what is more common, of urgent caprice.

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BOOK of an insidious legislation, that gives rise to crimes
 XIX. by it's prohibition, and to penalties by crimes. Men become culpable without knowing it, or without design; are arrested, plundered, and taxed, without having any thing to reproach themselves with. Such is the state of commerce in time of peace. But what shall we say of commercial wars?

It is natural enough for a people, pent up in the icy regions of the north, to dig out iron from the bowels of the earth that refuses them subsistence; and to reap the harvest of another nation by force of arms: hunger, which is restrained by no laws, cannot violate any, and seems to plead an excuse for these hostilities. Men must necessarily live by plunder, when they have no corn. But when a nation enjoys the privilege of an extensive commerce, and can supply several other states from it's superfluity; what motive can induce it to declare war against other industrious nations; to obstruct their navigation and their labours; in a word, to forbid them to live, on pain of death? Why does it arrogate to itself an exclusive branch of trade, a right of fishing and of navigation, as if it were a matter of property, and as if the sea were to be divided into acres as well as the land? The motives of such wars are easily discovered: we know that the jealousy of commerce is nothing more than a jealousy of power. But have any people a right to obstruct a work they cannot execute themselves, and to condemn another nation to indolence, because they themselves choose to be entirely given up to it?

How unnatural and contradictory an expression is a war of commerce! Commerce is the source and means of subsistence; war of destruction. Commerce may, possibly, give rise to war, and continue it; but war puts a stop to every branch
 of

of commerce. Whatever advantage one nation may derive from another in trade, becomes a motive of industry and emulation to both: in war, on the contrary, the injury affects both; for plunder, fire, and sword, can neither improve lands, nor enrich mankind. The wars of commerce are so much the more fatal, as by the present superiority of the maritime powers over those of the continent, and of Europe over the three other parts of the world, the conflagration becomes general; and that the dissensions of two maritime powers excite the spirit of discord among all their allies, and occasion inactivity even among the neutral powers.

BOOK
XIX.

COASTS and seas stained with blood, and covered with dead bodies; the horrors of war extending from pole to pole, between Africa, Asia, and America, as well throughout the sea that separates us from the New World, as throughout the vast extent of the Pacific Ocean: such has been the spectacle exhibited in the two last wars, in which all the powers of Europe have been alternately shaken, or have distinguished themselves by some remarkable exertion. In the mean while, the earth was depopulated, and commerce did not supply the losses it had sustained; the lands were exhausted by taxes, and the channels of navigation did not assist the progress of agriculture. The loans of the state previously ruined the fortunes of the citizens by usurious profits, the forerunners of bankruptcy. Even those powers that were victorious, oppressed by the conquests they had made, and having acquired a greater extent of land than they could keep or cultivate, were involved in the ruin of their enemies. The neutral powers, who were desirous of enriching themselves in peace, in the midst of this commotion, were exposed, and tamely submitted

BOOK to insults more disgraceful than the defeats of an
 XIX. open war.

THE spirit of discord had been transferred from the sovereigns to the people. The citizens of the several states took up arms reciprocally to plunder each other. Nothing was seen but merchantmen changed into privateers: those by whom they were commanded were not urged by necessity to follow this employment; some of them had fortunes, and the others might have received advantageous salaries from all sides. An insatiable passion for plunder was the only stimulant they had to this depravity. When they met with a peaceful merchantman, they were seized with ferocious joy, which manifested itself in the most lively transports: they were cruel, and homicides. An enemy more fortunate, stronger, and bolder, might, in their turn, deprive them of the prey, their liberty, and their life! But the aspect of a danger so common did not diminish either their avarice or their rage. This species of frenzy was not new. It had been known in the most distant ages, and had been perpetuated from one century to another. Man, at all times, though not urged by the unconquerable stimulus of hunger, hath sought to devour man. The calamity however, which we here deplore, had never arisen to that pitch at which we have seen it. The activity of piracy hath increased in proportion: the seas have furnished it with more means to satisfy its avidity, and its turbulent spirit.

WILL nations, then, never be convinced of the necessity of putting an end to these acts of barbarism? Would not a restraint which should check their progress, prove a circumstance of evident utility? Wherefore must the production of the two worlds be either swallowed up in the abyss of the ocean, together with the vessel
 which

which convey them; or become the prey of the vices and debauchery of a few vagabonds, destitute of morals and of principles? Will this infatuation continue much longer, or will the administrators of empires at length open their eyes to the light? Should they one day be made acquainted with their true interests, with the essential interests of the societies at the head of which they are placed, they will not limit their policy to the clearing of the seas from pirates, but they will extend it so far, as to leave a free intercourse to the connections subsisting between their respective subjects, during those murderous and destructive hostilities which frequently harass and ravage the globe.

BOOK
XIX.

THEY are fortunately passed those deplorable times, when the nations fought for their mutual annihilation. The remedies which at present divide Europe, have not so fatal an aim. It is seldom that any other object is proposed, than the reparation of some injustice, or the maintenance of a certain equilibrium between empires. The belligerent powers will undoubtedly endeavour to annoy and to weaken each other, as much as possible: but if none of them could do more mischief than they suffered, would it not be generally useful to put a stop to these calamities? This is what constantly happens, when war suspends the operations of commerce.

THEN one state rejects the productions and the industry of the adverse state, which, in it's turn, rejects her productions and her industry. This is, on both sides, a diminution of labour, of profit, and of enjoyments. The interference of neutral powers, in those circumstances, is not so favourable as we are perhaps accustomed to consider it. Beside that their agency must necessarily be very expensive, they endeavour to raise themselves upon

BOOK
XIV

upon the ruin of those whom they seem to serve. Whatever their soil and their manufactures can furnish, is substituted, as much as possible, to the productions of the soil and manufactures of the armed powers, which frequently do not recover at the peace, what the hostilities had made them lose. It will therefore be always consistent with the interests of the nations which make war against each other, to continue, without restraint, the exchanges they carried on before their dissensions.

ALL truths hold by each other. Let this truth, the importance of which we have established, direct the conduct of governments, and we shall soon see those innumerable barriers, which even in times of the most profound tranquillity, separate the nations, whatever may be the affinities which nature or chance hath created between them, will exist no more.

THE most sanguinary disputes were formerly no more than transient explosions, after which, each people reposed upon their arms, either defeated or triumphant. Peace, at that time, was peace, but, at present, it is nothing more than a tacit war. Every state rejects foreign productions, either by prohibitions, or by restraints often equivalent to prohibitions. Every state refuses its own, upon such equitable terms which might make them be sought after, or extend their consumption. The desire of mutually annoying each other, is extended from one pole to the other. In vain hath nature regulated, that, under her wise laws, every country should be opulent, powerful, and happy, from the wealth, the power, and the felicity of the rest. They have, unanimously as it were, disturbed this plan of universal benevolence, to the detriment of them all. Their ambition hath led them to insulate themselves;

selves; and this solitary situation hath made them
 desirous of an exclusive prosperity. Evil for evil
 hath then been returned. Artifices have been
 opposed to artifices, proscriptions to proscrip-
 tions, and fraud to fraud. Nations have become
 enervated, in attempting to enervate the rival
 powers; and it was impossible that it should be
 otherwise. The connections of commerce are all
 very close. One of it's branches cannot expe-
 rience any opposition, without the others being
 sensible of it. Commerce connects people and
 fortunes together, and establishes the intercourse
 of exchanges. It is one entire whole, the several
 parts of which, attract, support, and balance each
 other. It resembles the human body, all the
 parts of which are affected, when one of them
 doth not fulfil the functions that were destined
 to it.

Would you wish to put an end to the calami-
 ties which ill-contrived plans have brought upon
 the whole earth, you must pull down the fatal
 walls with which they have encompassed them-
 selves. You must restore that happy fraternity
 which constituted the delight of the first ages.
 Let the people, in whatever country fate may
 have placed them, to whatever government they
 may be subject, whatever religion they may pro-
 fess, communicate as freely with each other, as
 the inhabitants of a hamlet with those of a neigh-
 bouring one; with those of the most contiguous
 town, and with all those of the same empire; that
 is to say, free from duties, formalities, or predi-
 lections.

THEN, but not before, the earth will be filled
 with productions, and those of an exquisite qua-
 lity. The frenzy of impositions and prohibiti-
 ons hath reduced each state to cultivate commo-
 dities, which it's soil and it's climate rejected, and

B O O K XIX which were never either of good quality, or plentiful. The labours will be directed to another channel. When the earth can satisfy it's wants in a more pleasant way, and at a cheaper rate, it will turn all it's activity to objects for which nature had destined it; and which being such as they should be, will find an advantageous mart in those places even where an enlightened system of economy shall have determined the people to reject them.

TURN, but not before, all nations will attain to that degree of prosperity, to which they are allowed to aspire: they will enjoy both their own riches, and the riches of other nations. The people who had till then had some success in trade, have hitherto imagined that their neighbours could only make their own trade flourish at the expence of their's. This presumption had made them behold with an anxious and suspicious eye, the efforts that were made to improve their situation; and had excited them to interrupt, by the manœuvres of an active and unjust cupidity, labours, the consequences of which they dreaded. They will alter their conduct, when they shall have understood, that the natural and moral order of things is subverted by the present state of them; that the idleness of one country is hurtful to all the rest, either because it condemns them to more labour, or because it deprives them of some enjoyments; that foreign industry, far from confining their's, will extend it; that the more benefits shall be multiplied around them, the more easy it will be for them to extend their conveniences, and their exchanges; that their harvests and their manufactures must necessarily fall to ruin, if the marts, and their returns, are to be deficient; that states, as well as individuals, have a visible interest, habitually, to sell at the highest price

price possible, and to purchase at the highest price possible; and that this double advantage can be found only in the greatest possible competition, and in the greatest affluence, between the sellers and the purchasers. This is the interest of every government, and it is therefore the interest of all of them.

LET it not be said, that, in the system of a general and illimited liberty, some people would acquire a too determined ascendant over the rest. The new plans will not deprive any state of it's soil, or of it's genius. Whatever advantages each may have had in times of prohibition, it will preserve under the guidance of better principles. It's utility will even increase considerably, because it's neighbours, enjoying more wealth, will more and more extend it's consumptions.

If there existed a country which might be allowed to have some dislike to the abolition, of the prohibitive government, it undoubtedly would be that which improvident nature hath condemned to an eternal poverty. Accustomed to reject, by sumptuary laws, the delights of more fortunate countries, they might be apprehensive that a communication entirely free, with them, might subvert their maxims, corrupt their morals, and pave the way for their ruin. These alarms would be ill-founded. Except, perhaps, a few moments of illusion; every nation would regulate their wants by their abilities.

HAPPY, then, and infinitely happy, will be that power, which shall be the first to disencumber itself of the restraints, the taxes, and the prohibitions, which in all parts oppress and stop the progress of commerce. Attracted by the liberty, the facility, the safety, and the multiplicity of exchanges; the ships, the productions, the commodities, and the merchants of all countries, will

BOOK
XIX.

crowd into their ports. The causes of so splendid a prosperity will soon be understood; and the nations renouncing their ancient errors, and their destructive prejudices, will hasten to adopt principles so fertile in favourable events. The revolution will become general. Clouds will be dispelled in all parts; a serene sky will shine over the face of the whole globe, and nature will resume the reins of the world. Then, or never, will that universal peace arise, which a warlike, but humane monarch did not think to be a chimerical idea. If so desirable and so little expected a benefit should not issue from this new order of things, from this great unfolding of reason, at least the general felicity of men will be established upon a more solid basis.

Agriculture.

COMMERCE, which naturally arises from agriculture, returns to it by its bent, and by its circulation. Thus it is that the rivers return to the sea, which has produced them, by the exhalations of its waters into vapours, and by the fall of those vapours into waters. The flow of gold brought by the circulation and consumption of the fruits of the earth, returns, at length, into the fields, there to produce all the necessities of life, and the materials of commerce. If the lands be not cultivated, all commerce is precarious; because it is deprived of its original supplies, which are the productions of nature. Nations that are only maritime, or commercial, enjoy, it is true, the fruits of commerce; but the tree of it belongs to those people who cultivate it. Agriculture is therefore the first and real opulence of a state.

THESE benefits were not enjoyed in the infancy of the world. The first inhabitants of the globe relied only upon chance, and upon their dexterity, for procuring to themselves an uncertain subsistence.

ence. They wandered from one region to another. Incessantly absorbed in the ideas of want or fear, they reciprocally fled from, or destroyed, each other. The earth was stirred up, and the miseries of a vagabond life were alleviated. In proportion as agriculture was extended, mankind were multiplied with the means of subsistence. Nations, and even great ones, were formed. Some of them disdained the source of their prosperity, and were punished for that senseless pride by invasions. Upon the ruins of vast monarchies, sunk in lethargy, by the neglect of useful labours, new states arose; which having, in their turn, contracted the habit of trusting the care of their subsistence to their slaves, were not able to resist the nations stimulated either by indigence or barbarism.

SUCH was the fate of Rome. Proud of the spoils of the universe, she held in contempt the rural occupations of her founders, and of her most illustrious citizens. Her country-places were filled with delightful retreats. She subsisted only upon foreign contributions. The people, corrupted by perpetual profusions, abandoned the labours of tillage. All the useful or honourable places were purchased with abundant distributions of corn. Hunger gave the law, in the comitia. All the orders of the republic were no longer governed by any thing but hunger and amusement. Then the empire fell to ruin, destroyed rather by it's internal vices, than by the barbarians who tore it to pieces.

THE contempt which the Romans had for agriculture, in the intoxication of those conquests which had given them the whole world without their cultivating it, was perpetuated. It was adopted by those savage hord^s, who, destroying by the sword, a power which was established by it,

B O O K it, left to the vassals the clearing of the lands, of
 { **XIX.** which they reserved to themselves the fruits, and
 the property. Even in the age subsequent to the
 discovery of the East and West Indies, this truth
 was unattended to; whether in Europe the people
 were too much engaged in wars of ambition or
 religion to consider it; or whether the conquests
 made by Portugal and Spain beyond the seas,
 having brought us treasures without labour, we
 contented ourselves with enjoying them by en-
 couraging luxury and the arts, before any method
 had been thought of to secure these riches.

BUT the time came, when plunder ceased,
 having no object on which it could be exercised.
 When the conquered lands in the New World,
 after having been much, contested for, were di-
 vided, it became necessary to cultivate them, and
 to support the colonists who settled there. As
 these were natives of Europe, they cultivated for
 that country such productions as it did not fur-
 nish, and required in return such provisions as
 custom had made natural to them. In proportion
 as the colonies were peopled, and as the number
 of sailors and manufacturers increased with the
 increase of productions, the lands must necessarily
 furnish a greater quantity of subsistence for the in-
 crease of population; and an augmentation of
 indigenous commodities, for foreign articles of
 exchange and consumption. The laborious em-
 ployment of navigation, and the spoiling of pro-
 visions in the transport, causing a greater loss of
 materials and produce, it became necessary to
 cultivate the earth with the greatest care and as-
 siduity, in order to render it more fruitful. The
 consumption of American commodities, far from
 lessening that of European productions, served
 only to increase and extend it upon all the seas, in
 all the ports, and in all the cities where commerce
 and

and industry prevailed. Thus the people who were the most commercial, necessarily became, at the same time, the greatest promoters of agriculture.

ENGLAND first conceived the idea of this new system. She established and encouraged it by honours and premiums proposed to the planters. A medal was stricken and presented to the duke of Bedford, with the following inscription: *For having planted Oak.* Triptolemus and Ceres were adored in antiquity only from similar motives; and yet temples and altars are still erected to indolent monks. The God of nature will not suffer that mankind should perish. He hath implanted in all noble and generous minds, in the hearts of all people and of enlightened monarchs, this idea, that labour is the first duty of man, and that the most important of all labours is that of cultivating the land. The reward that attends agriculture, the satisfying of our wants, is the best encomium that can be made of it. *If I had a subject who could produce two blades of corn instead of one,* said a monarch, *I should prefer him to all the men of political genius in the state.* How much is it to be lamented that such a king and such an opinion are merely the fiction of Swift's brain? But a nation that can produce such writers, must necessarily confirm the truth of this sublime idea; and accordingly we find that England doubled the produce of it's cultivation.

EUROPE had this great example for more than half a century under her eyes, without it's making a sufficient impression upon her to induce her to follow it. The French, who, under the administration of three cardinals, had scarce been allowed to turn their thoughts to public affairs, ventured at length, in 1750, to write on subjects of importance and general utility. The under-
taking

B O O K taking of an universal dictionary of arts and sciences
XIX. brought every great object to view, and exercised the thoughts of every man of genius and of knowledge. Montesquieu wrote the spirit of laws, and the boundaries of genius were extended. Natural history was written by a French Pliny, who surpassed Greece and Rome in the knowledge and description of nature. This history, bold and sublime as it's subject, warmed the imagination of every reader, and powerfully excited them to such inquiries as a nation cannot relinquish without returning into a state of barbarism. It was then that a great number of subjects became sensible of the real wants of their country. Government itself seemed to perceive that all kinds of riches originated from the earth. They granted some encouragement to agriculture, but without having the courage to remove the obstacles which prevented it's improvement.

THE French husbandman doth not yet enjoy the happiness of being taxed only in proportion to his abilities. Arbitrary imposts still molest and ruin him. Jealous or rapacious neighbours have it always in their power to exercise either their cupidity or their revenge against him. A barbarous collector, a haughty lord, an arrogant and authorized monopolist, a man raised to fortune, and who is a greater despot than all the rest, may humiliate, beat, and plunder him; they may deprive him, in a word, of all the rights of mankind, of property, of safety, and of liberty. Degraded by this kind of abject state, his clothes, his manners, his language, become an object of derision for all the other classes of society; and authority often gives a sanction by it's conduct to this excess of extravagance.

I HAVE heard that stupid and ferocious statesman, and the indignation which he excited in me

me almost prompts me to name him, and to give up his memory to the execration of all honest and sensible men; I have heard him say, that the labours of the field were so hard, that if the cultivator were allowed to acquire some ease in his circumstances, he would forsake his plough and leave the lands untilled. His advice was therefore to perpetuate labour by misery, and to condemn to eternal indigence the man, without the sweat of whose brow he must have been starved to death. He ordered that the oxen should be fattened, while he curtailed the subsistence of the husbandman. He governed a province, and yet he did not conceive that it was the impossibility of acquiring a small degree of ease, and not the danger of fatigue, which disgusted the husbandman of his condition. He did not know that the state into which men are anxious to enter, is that which they hope to quit by the acquisition of riches; and that however hard may be the daily labours of agriculture, it will nevertheless find more votaries in proportion as the reward of it's labours shall be more certain and more abundant. He had not noticed, that in the towns there were a multitude of employments, which, although they shortened the lives of those who were engaged in them, yet this did not deter others from following them. He did not know that in some countries of vast extent, there were miners who voluntarily devoted themselves to destruction in the bowels of the earth, and that even before they were thirty years of age, upon condition of reaping from this sacrifice clothes and provisions for their wives and children. It had never suggested itself to him, that, in all professions, that sort of ease in circumstances, which admits of calling in assistance, alleviates the fatigue of them; and that inhumanly to exclude the peasant from the class

B O O K perceived, even Spain hath exerted herself, and
XIX for want of inhabitants, who would employ themselves in the labours of the field, she hath at last invited foreigners to till her uncultivated provinces.

NOTWITHSTANDING this almost universal emulation, it must be acknowledged that agriculture hath not made the same progress as the other arts. Since the revival of letters, the genius of men hath measured the earth, calculated the motion of the stars and weighed the air. It hath penetrated through the darkness which concealed from it the natural and moral system of the world. By investigating nature it hath discovered an infinite number of secrets, with which all the sciences have enriched themselves. It's empire hath extended itself over a multitude of objects necessary to the happiness of mankind. In this ferment of men's minds, experimental philosophy, which had but very imperfectly enlightened ancient philosophy, hath too seldom turned it's observations towards the important part of the vegetable system. The different qualities of the soil, the number of which is so various, are still unknown, as well as the kind of soil which is the best adapted to every production, the quantity and the quality of the seeds which it is proper to sow in them, the seasons most propitious for ploughing, sowing, and reaping them, and the species of manure fit to increase their fertility. No better information is procured concerning the most advantageous manner of multiplying flocks, of breeding and of feeding them, and of improving their fleece. No greater light hath been thrown upon the cultivation of trees. We have scarce any but imperfect notions concerning all these articles of primary necessity, such as have been transmitted to us by a blind routine, or by
 practice

practice followed with little reflection. Europe would be still less advanced in this knowledge, were it not for the observations of a few English writers, who have succeeded in eradicating some prejudices, and in introducing several excellent methods. This zeal for the first of arts hath been communicated to the cultivators of their nation. Fairchild, one of them hath carried his enthusiasm so far, as to order that the dignity of his profession should be annually celebrated by a public discourse. His will was complied with for the first time in 1760, in St. Leonard's church in London, and this useful ceremony hath never been omitted since that period.

BOOK
XIX.

It is a fact somewhat remarkable, though it might naturally be expected, that men should have returned to the exercise of agriculture the first of the arts, only after they had successively tried the rest. It is the common progression of the human mind, not to regain the right path, till after it hath exhausted itself in pursuing false tracks. It is always advancing; and as it relinquished agriculture, to pursue commerce and the enjoyments of luxury, it soon traversed over the different arts of life, and returned at last to agriculture, which is the source and foundation of all the rest, and to which it devoted it's whole attention, from the same motives of interest that had made it quit it before. Thus the eager and inquisitive man, who voluntarily banishes himself from his own country in his youth, wearied with his constant excursions, returns at last to live and die in his native land.

EVERY thing, indeed, depends upon, and arises from, the cultivation of land. It forms the internal strength of states; and occasions riches to circulate into them from without. Every power which comes from any other source, is artificial
and

BOOK XIX. ^{men,} become the most dreadful enemies of the state and of the nation. The only good and respectable part of them that remains, is that portion of the clergy who are most despised and most burdened with duty, and who being situated among the lower class of people in the country, labour, edify, advise, comfort, and relieve a multitude of unhappy men.

THE husbandmen deserve to be preferred by government, even to the manufacturers, and the professors of either the mechanical or liberal arts. To encourage and to protect the arts of luxury, and at the same time neglect the cultivation of the land, that source of industry to which they owe their existence and support, is to forget the order of the several relations between nature and society. To favour the arts, and to neglect agriculture, is the same thing as to remove the basis of a pyramid, in order to finish the top. The mechanical arts engage a sufficient number of hands by the allurements of the riches they procure, by the comforts they supply the workmen with, by the ease, pleasures, and conveniences that arise in cities, where the several branches of industry unite. It is the life of the husbandman that stands in need of encouragement for the hard labours it is exposed to, and of indemnification for the losses and vexations it sustains. The husbandman is placed at a distance from every object that can either excite his ambition, or gratify his curiosity. He lives in a state of separation from the distinctions and pleasures of society. He cannot give his children a polite education, without sending them at a distance from him, nor place them in such a situation as may enable them to distinguish and advance themselves by the fortune they may acquire. He does not enjoy the sacrifices he makes for them, while they are educated at a distance from

from him. In a word, he undergoes all the fatigues that are incident to man, without enjoying his pleasures, unless supported by the paternal care of government. Every thing is burdensome and humiliating to him, even the taxes, the very name of which sometimes makes his condition more wretched than any other.

Men are naturally attached to the liberal arts by the bent of their talents, which makes this attachment grow up into a kind of passion; and likewise by the consideration they reflect on those who distinguish themselves in the pursuit of them. It is not possible to admire the works of genius, without esteeming and caressing the persons endowed with that valuable gift of nature. But the man devoted to the labours of husbandry, if he cannot enjoy in quiet what he possesses, and what he gathers; if he be incapable of improving the benefits of his condition, because the sweets of it are taken from him; if the military service, if vassalage and taxes are to deprive him of his child, his cattle, and his corn, nothing remains for him, but to imprecate both the sky and the land that torment him, and to abandon his fields and his country.

A wise government cannot therefore refuse to pay it's principal attention to agriculture, without endangering it's very existence: the most ready and effectual means of assisting it, is to favour the multiplication of every kind of production, by the most free and general circulation.

An unrestrained liberty in the exchange of commodities renders a people at the same time commercial and attentive to agriculture; it extends the views of the farmer towards trade, and those of the merchant towards cultivation. It connects them to each other by such relations as are regular and constant. All men belong equally

B O O K to the villages and to the cities, and there is a reciprocal communication maintained between the provinces. The circulation of commodities brings on in reality the golden age, in which streams of milk and honey are said to have flowed through the plains. All the lands are cultivated; the meadows are favourable to tillage by the cattle they feed; the growth of corn promotes that of vines, by furnishing a constant and certain subsistence to him who neither sows nor reaps, but plants, prunes, and gathers.

XIX. - LET us now consider the effects of a contrary system, and attempt to regulate agriculture, and the circulation of it's produce, by particular laws; and let us observe what calamities will ensue. Power will not only be desirous of observing and being informed of every action, but will even want to assume every important act to itself, in consequence of which nothing will succeed. Men will be led like their cattle, or transported like their corn; they will be collected and dispersed at the will of a tyrant, to be slaughtered in war, or perish upon fleets, or in different colonies. That which constitutes the life of a state will become it's destruction. Neither the lands, nor the people will prosper, and the states will tend quickly to their dissolution; that is, to that separation which is always preceded by the massacre of the people, as well as their tyrants. What will then become of manufactures?

fac- AGRICULTURE gives birth to the arts, when it is carried to that degree of plenty, which gives men leisure to invent, and procure themselves the conveniences of life; and when it has occasioned a population sufficiently numerous to be employed in other labours, beside those of the land, then a people must necessarily become either soldiers, navigators, or manufacturers.

ers. As soon as war has changed the rude and savage manners of a laborious people; as soon as it has nearly circumscribed the extent of their empire, those men who were before engaged in the exercise of arms, must then apply themselves to the management of the oar, the ropes, the scissars, or the shuttle; in a word, of all the instruments of commerce and industry; for the land, which supported such a number of men without the assistance of their own labour, does not any more stand in need of it. As the arts ever have a country of their own, their peculiar place of refuge, where they are carried on and flourish in tranquillity, it is easier to repair thither in search of them, than to wait at home till they shall have grown up, and advanced with the tardy progression of ages, and the favour of chance which presides over the discoveries of genius. Thus every nation of Europe that has had any industry, has borrowed the most considerable share of the arts from Asia. There invention seems to have been coeval with mankind.

THE beauty and fertility of those climates hath always produced a most numerous race of people, as well as abundance of fruits of all kinds. There laws and arts, the offspring of genius and tranquillity, have arisen from the stability of empires; and luxury, the source of every enjoyment that attends industry, has sprung out of the richness of the soil. India, China, Persia, and Egypt were in possession not only of all the treasures of nature, but also of the most brilliant inventions of art. War in these countries hath often destroyed every monument of genius, but they rise again out of their own ruins, as well as mankind. Not unlike those laborious swarms we see perish in their hives by the wintry blast of the north, and which reproduce themselves in spring, retaining

B O O K still the same love of toil and order; there are cer-
XIX. tain Asiatic nations which have still preserved the
 arts of luxury with the materials that supply them, notwithstanding the invasions and conquests of the Tartars.

It was in a country successively subdued by the Scythians, Romans, and Saracens, that the nations of Europe, which not even christianity nor time could civilize, recovered the arts and sciences without endeavouring to discover them. The Crusades exhausted the fanatic zeal of those who engaged in them, and changed their barbarous manners at Constantinople. It was by journeying to visit the tomb of their Saviour, who was born in a manger, and died on a cross, that they acquired a taste for magnificence, pomp, and wealth. By them the Asiatic grandeur was introduced into the courts of Europe. Italy, the seat from whence religion spread her empire over other countries, was the first to adopt a species of industry that was of benefit to her temples, the ceremonies of her worship, and those processions which serve to keep up devotion by means of the senses, when once it has engaged the heart. Christian Rome, after having borrowed her rites from the Eastern nations, was still to draw from thence the wealth by which they are supported.

VENICE, whose gallees were ranged under the banner of liberty, could not fail of being industrious. The people of Italy established manufactures, and were a long time in possession of all the arts, even when the conquest of the East and West Indies had caused the treasures of the whole world to circulate in Europe. Flanders derived her manual arts from Italy; England obtained those she established from Flanders; and France borrowed the general industry of all countries. Of the English she purchased her stocking-loom, which

which work ten times as fast as the needle. The number of hands unoccupied from the introduction of the loom, were employed in making of lace, which was taken from the Flemings. Paris surpassed Persia in her carpets, and Flanders in her tapestry, in the elegance of her patterns, and the beauty of her dyes; and excelled Venice in the transparency and size of her mirrors. France learned to dispense with part of the silks she received from Italy, and with English broad cloths. Germany, together with her iron and copper mines, has always preserved the superiority she had acquired in melting, tempering, and working up those metals. But the art of giving the polish and fashion to every article that can be concerned in the ornaments of luxury, and the conveniences of life, seems to belong peculiarly to the French; whether it be that, from the vanity of pleasing others, they find the means of succeeding by all the outward appearances of brilliant shew; or that in reality grace and ease are the constant attendants of a people naturally lively and gay, and who by instinct are in possession of taste.

EVERY people given to agriculture ought to have arts to employ their materials, and should multiply their productions to maintain their artists. Were they acquainted only with the labours of the field, their industry must be confined in it's cause, it's means, and it's effects. Having but a few wants and desires, they would exert themselves but little, employ fewer hands, and work less time. Their cultivation would neither be extended nor improved. Should such a people be possessed of more arts than materials, they must be indebted to strangers, who would ruin their manufactures, by sinking the price of their articles of luxury, and raising the value of their
 subsist.

B O O K subsistence. But when a people, engaged in agriculture, join industry to property, the culture of their produce to the art of working it up, they have then within themselves every thing necessary for their existence and preservation, every source of greatness and prosperity. Such a people is endued with a power of accomplishing every thing they wish, and stimulated with a desire of, acquiring every thing that is possible.

XIX.

Nothing is more favourable to liberty than the arts; it may be said to be their element, and that they are, in their nature, citizens of the world. An able artist may work in every country, because he works for the world in general. Genius and abilities every where avoid slavery, while soldiers find it in all parts. When, through the want of toleration in the clergy, the Protestants were driven out of France, they opened to themselves a refuge in every civilized state in Europe: but priests, banished from their own country, have found no asylum any where; not even in Italy, the parent of monachism and intoleration.

The arts multiply the means of acquiring riches, and contribute, by a greater distribution of wealth, to a more equitable repartition of property. Thus is prevented that excessive inequality among men, the unhappy consequence of oppression, tyranny, and lethargic state of a whole people.

How many objects of instruction and admiration doth not the most enlightened man find in manufactures and workshops! To study the productions of nature is undoubtedly beautiful; but is it not more interesting to know the different means made use of by the arts, either to alleviate the misfortunes, or to increase the enjoyments of life? Should we be in search of genius, let us go in the workshops, and there we shall find it under

under a thousand different forms. If one man alone had been the inventor of the manufacture for figured stuffs, he would have displayed more intelligence than Leibnitz or Newton: and I may venture to say, that there is no problem in the mathematical principles of the latter, more difficult to be solved, than that of weaving a thread by the assistance of a machine. Is it not a shameful thing, to see the objects which surround us viewing themselves in a glass, while they are unacquainted with the manner in which glass is melted; or clothing themselves in velvet to keep out the cold, while they know not how it is manufactured? Let men who are well informed, go and assist with their knowledge the wretched artisan, condemned blindly to follow the routine he has been used to, and they may be certain of being indemnified by the secrets he will impart to them. The torch of industry serves to enlighten at once a vast horizon. No art is single: the greater part of them have their forms, modes, instruments, and elements, that are peculiar to them. The mechanics themselves have contributed prodigiously to extend the study of mathematics. Every branch of the genealogical tree of science has unfolded itself with the progress of the arts, as well liberal as manual. Mines, mills, the manufacture and dying of cloth, have enlarged the sphere of philosophy and natural history. Luxury has given rise to the art of enjoyment, which is entirely dependent on the liberal arts. As soon as architecture admits of ornaments without, it brings with it decorations for the inside of our houses; while sculpture and painting are at the same time employed in the embellishment and adorning of the edifice. The art of design is applied to our dress and furniture. The pencil, ever fertile in new designs, is varying without end its sketches

BOOK
XIX.

sketches and shades on our stuffs and our porcelain. The powers of genius are exerted in composing at leisure master-pieces of poetry and eloquence, or those happy systems of policy and philosophy, which restore to the people their natural rights, and to sovereigns all their glory, which consists in reigning over the heart and the mind, over the opinion and will of their subjects, by the means of reason and equity.

THEN it is that the arts produce that spirit of society which constitutes the happiness of civil life; which gives relaxation to the more serious occupations, by entertainments, shews, concerts, conversations, in short, by every species of agreeable-amusement. Ease gives to every virtuous enjoyment an air of liberty, which connects and mingles the several ranks of men. Employment adds a value or a charm to the pleasures that are it's recompence. Every citizen depending upon the produce of his industry for subsistence, has leisure for all the agreeable or toilsome occupations of life, as well as that repose of mind which leads on to the sweets of sleep. Many, indeed, fall victims to avarice, but still less than to war or superstition, the continual scourges of an idle people.

AFTER the cultivation of the land, the encouragement of the arts and sciences is the next object that deserves the attention of man. At present, both serve to constitute the strength of civilized governments. If the arts have tended to weaken mankind, then the weaker people must have prevailed over the strong; for the balance of Europe is in the hands of those nations which are in possession of the arts.

SINCE manufactures have prevailed in Europe, the human heart, as well as the mind, have changed their bent and disposition. The desire of wealth

has arisen in all parts from the love of pleasure. BOOK
XIX.
 We no longer see any people satisfied with being poor, because poverty is no longer the bulwark of liberty. We are obliged, indeed, to confess, that the arts in this world supply the place of virtues. Industry may give birth to vices; but it banishes, however, those of idleness, which are infinitely more dangerous. As information gradually dispels every species of fanaticism, while men are employed in the gratifications of luxury, they do not destroy one another through superstition. At least, human blood is never spilt without some appearance of interest, and war, probably, destroys only those violent and turbulent men, who in every state are born to be enemies to, and disturbers of all order, without any other talent, any other propensity, than that of doing mischief. The arts restrain that spirit of dissension, by subjecting man to stated and daily employments. They bestow on every rank of life the means and the hopes of enjoyment, and give even the meanest a kind of estimation and importance, by the advantage that results from them. A workman at forty has been of more real value to the state than a whole family of vassals who were employed in tillage under the old feudal system. An opulent manufacture brings more benefit into a village, than twenty castles of ancient barons, whether hunters or warriors, ever conferred on their province.

If it be a fact; that in the present state of things, the people who are the most industrious ought to be the most happy, and the most powerful, either because in wars that are unavoidable they furnish of themselves, or purchase by their wealth, more soldiers, more ammunition, more forces, both for sea or land service; or that having a greater interest in maintaining peace, they avoid

BOOK XIX. avoid contests, or terminate them by negotiation; or that, in case of a defeat, they the more readily repair their losses by the effect of labour; or that they are blessed with a milder and more enlightened government, notwithstanding the means of corruption and slavery that tyranny is supplied with, by the effeminacy which luxury produces; in a word, if the arts really civilize nations, a state ought to neglect no opportunity of making manufactures flourish.

THESE opportunities depend on the climate which, as Polybius says, forms the character, complexion, and manners of nations. The most temperate climate must necessarily be the most favourable to that kind of industry which requires less exertion. If the climate be too hot, it is inconsistent with the establishment of manufactures which require the concurrence of several persons together to carry on the same work; and it excludes all those arts which employ furnaces, or strong lights. If the climate prove too cold, it is not proper for those arts which can only be carried on in the open air. At too great or too small a distance from the equator, man is unfit for several labours, which seem peculiarly adapted to a mild temperature. In vain did Peter the Great search among the best regulated states for all such arts as were best calculated to civilize his people: during a period of fifty years, not one of these principles of civilization has been able to flourish among the frozen regions of Russia. All artists are strangers in that land, and if they endeavour to reside there, their talents and their works soon die with them. When Lewis XIV. in his old age (as if that were the time of life for proscriptions) persecuted the Protestants, in vain did they introduce their arts and trades among the people who received them; they were

no longer able to work in the same manner as they had done in France. Though they were equally active and laborious, the arts they had introduced were lost, or they declined, from not having the advantage of the same climate and heat to animate them.

BOOK
XIX.

To the favourable disposition of climate, for the encouragement of manufactures, should be added the advantage of the political situation of the state. When it is of such extent as to have nothing to fear or want in point of security; when it is in the neighbourhood of the sea for the landing of it's materials, and the exportation of it's manufactures; when it is situated between powers *that have iron mines to employ it's industry*, and others that have mines of gold to reward it; when it has nations on each side, with ports and roads open on every side; such a state will have all the external advantages necessary to excite a people to open a variety of manufactures.

BUT one advantage still more essential is fertility of soil. If cultivation should require too many hands, there will be a want of labourers, or the manufacturers will employ so many hands, that there will not be men enough to cultivate the fields; and this must occasion a dearth of provisions, which, while it raises the price of workmanship, will also diminish the number of trades.

WHERE fertility of soil is wanting, manufactures require, at least, as few men to be employed as possible. A nation that should expend much *on it's mere subsistence*, would absorb the whole profits of it's industry. When the gratifications of luxury are greater or more expensive than the means of supplying them, the source from which they are derived is lost, and they can no longer be supported. If the workman will feed and clothe himself

BOOK XIX. himself like the manufacturer who employs him, the manufacture is soon ruined. The degree of frugality that republican nations adhere to from motives of virtue, the manufacturer ought to observe from views of parsimony. This may be the reason, perhaps, that the arts, even those of luxury, are more adapted to republics than monarchies; for, under monarchical institutions, poverty is not always the sharpest spur with the people to industry. Labour, proceeding from hunger, is narrow and confined, like the appetite it springs from; but the work that arises from ambition spreads and increases as naturally as the vice itself.

NATIONAL character has considerable influence over the progress of the arts of luxury and ornament. Some people are fitted for invention by that levity which naturally inclines them to novelty. The same nation is fitted for the arts, by their vanity, which inclines them to the ornament of dress. Another nation, less lively, has less taste for trivial matters, and is not fond of changing fashions. Being of a more serious turn, these people are more inclined to indulge in excesses of the table, and to drinking, which relieves them from all anxiety and apprehension. Of these nations, the one must succeed better than its rival in the arts of decoration, and must have the preference over it among all the other nations which are fond of the same arts.

THE advantages which manufactures derive from nature, are further seconded by the form of government. While industry is favourable to national liberty, that in return should assist industry. Exclusive privileges are enemies to commerce and the arts, which are to be encouraged only by competition. Even the rights of apprenticeship, and the value set on corporations, are a kind

kind of monopoly. The state is prejudiced by that sort of privilege which favours incorporated trades; that is to say, petty communities are protected at the expence of the greater body. By taking from the lower class of the people the liberty of choosing the profession that suits them; every profession is filled with bad workmen. Such as require greater talents are exercised by those who are the most wealthy; the meaner, and less expensive, fall often to the share of men born to excel in some superior art. As both are engaged in a profession for which they have no taste, they neglect their work, and prejudice the art: the first, because they have no abilities; the latter, because they are convinced that their abilities are superior to it. But if we remove the impediment of corporate bodies, we shall produce a competition in the workmen, and consequently the work will increase as well as be more perfect.

It may be a question, whether it be beneficial to collect manufactures in large towns, or to disperse them over the country. This point is determined by facts. The arts of primary necessity have remained where they were first produced, in those places which have furnished the materials for them. Forges are in the neighbourhood of the mine, and linen near the flax. But the complicated arts of industry and luxury cannot be carried on in the country. If we disperse over a large extent of territory all the arts which are combined in watch and clock-making, we shall ruin Geneva, with all the works that support it. If we disperse among the different provinces of France, the sixty thousand workmen who are employed in the stuff manufactory of Lyons, we shall annihilate taste, which is kept up only by the competition of a great number of rivals, who are constantly employed in endeavouring to sur-

pass

BOOK
XIX.

pass each other. The perfection of stuffs requires their being made in a town, where fine dyes may at once be united with beautiful patterns, and the art of working up woollens and silks with that of making gold and silver lace. If there be wanting eighteen hands to make a pin, through how many manual arts, and artificers, must a laced coat, or an embroidered waistcoat pass? How shall we be able to find, amidst an interior central province, the immense apparatus of arts that contribute to the furnishing of a palace, or the entertainment of a court. Those arts, therefore, that are most simple and unconnected with others, must be confined to the country; and such clothes as are fit for the lower class of people must be made in the provinces. We must establish between the capital and the other towns a reciprocal dependence of wants and conveniences, of materials and works; but still nothing must be done by authority or compulsion; workmen must be left to act for themselves. Let there be freedom of traffic, and freedom of industry, and manufactures will prosper, population will increase.

Popula-
tion.

HAS the world been more peopled at one time than another? This is not to be ascertained from history, on account of the deficiency of historians in one half of the globe that has been inhabited, and because one half of what is related by historians is fabulous. Who has ever taken, or could at any time take, an account of the inhabitants of the earth? She was, it is said, more fruitful in earlier times. But when was the period of this golden age? Was it when a dry sand arose from the bed of the sea, purged itself in the rays of the sun; and caused the slime to produce vegetables, animals, and human creatures? But the whole surface of the earth must alternately have been

been covered by the ocean. The earth has then always had, like the individuals of every species, an infant state, a state of weakness and sterility, before she arrived at the age of fertility. All countries have been for a long time buried under water, lying uncultivated beneath sands and morasses, wild and overgrown with bushes and forests, till the human species, being thrown by accident on these deserts and solitudes, has cleared, altered, and peopled the land. But as all the causes of population are subordinate to those natural laws which govern the universe, as well as to the influences of soil and atmosphere, which are subject to a number of calamities, it must ever have varied with those periods of nature that have been either adverse or favourable to the increase of mankind. However, as the lot of every species seems in a manner to depend on it's faculties, the history of the progress and improvement of human industry must therefore, in general, supply us with the history of the population of the earth. On this ground of calculation, it is at least doubtful, whether the world was formerly better inhabited and more peopled than it is at present.

Let us leave Asia under the veil of that antiquity which reports it to us ever covered with innumerable nations, and swarms of people so prodigious, that (notwithstanding the fertility of a soil which stands in need but of one ray of the sun to enable it to produce all sorts of fruit) men did but just arise, and succeed one another with the utmost rapidity, and were destroyed either by famine, pestilence, or war. Let us consider with more attention the population of Europe, which seems to have taken the place of Asia, by conferring upon art all the powers of nature.

BOOK

XIX.

IN order to determine whether our continent was, in former ages, more inhabited than at present, it would be necessary to know whether public security was better established at that time; whether the arts were in a more flourishing condition, and whether the land was better cultivated: This is what we must investigate.

FIRST, in these distant periods, the political institutions were very defective. Those ill-regulated governments were agitated with continual factions. The civil wars which sprang from these divisions were frequent and cruel. It often happened that one half of the people were massacred by the other half. Those citizens who had escaped the sword of the conqueror took refuge upon an unfavourable territory. From that asylum they did every possible mischief to an implacable enemy, till a new revolution enabled them to take memorable and complete vengeance for the calamities which they had endured.

THE arts had not more vigour than the laws. Commerce was so limited, as to be reduced to the exchange of a small number of productions peculiar to some territories, and to some climates. The manufactures were so little varied, that both the sexes were equally obliged to clothe themselves with a woollen stuff, which even was but seldom dyed. All the branches of industry were so little advanced, that there did not exist a single city which was indebted to them for its increase, or its prosperity. This was the effect and the cause of the general contempt in which these several occupations were holden.

It was difficult for commodities to find a certain and advantageous vent, in regions where the arts were in a languid state. Accordingly, agriculture felt the effects of this want of consumption. It is a certain proof, that most of these fine countries

countries remained untilld, because the climate was evidently more rude than it hath since been. If immense forests had not deprived the countries of the influence of the beneficent planet which animates every thing, would our ancestors have had more to suffer from the rigour of the season than ourselves?

BOOK
XIX.

THESE facts, which cannot reasonably be called in question, demonstrate that the number of men was then very much limited in Europe; and that excepting one or two countries, which may have fallen off from their ancient population, all the rest had only a few inhabitants?

• WHAT were those multitudes of people which Cæsar reckoned in Gaul, but a set of savage nations, more formidable in name than number? Were all those Britons, who were subdued in their island by two Roman legions, much more numerous than the Corsicans at present? Must not the North have been still less peopled? Regions where the sun scarce appears above the horizon; where the course of the waters is suspended for eight months in the year; where heaps of snow cover, for the same space of time, a soil frequently barren; where trees are rooted up by the winds; where the corn, the plants, and the springs, every thing which contributes to the support of life, is in a state of annihilation; where the bodies of all men are afflicted with pain; where rest, more fatal than the most excessive fatigues, is followed by the most dreadful calamities; where the arms of children are stiffened, while they are stretching them up to their mothers; and where their tears are converted to icicles on their cheeks: where nature . . . Such regions could only have been inhabited at some late period, and then only by some unfortunate people, flying from slavery or tyranny.

BOOK XIX. They have never multiplied under so intemperate a sky. Over the face of the whole globe, numerous societies have always left behind them some durable monuments or ruins, but in the North there are absolutely no remains which bear the impression of human power or industry.

The conquest of the finest part of Europe, in the space of three or four centuries, by the inhabitants of the most northern nations, seems at first sight to argue against what we have been saying. But let us consider, that these were the people of a territory ten times as large, who possessed themselves of a country inhabited at present by three or four nations only; and that it was not owing to the number of her conquerors, but to the revolt of her subjects, that the Roman empire was destroyed and reduced to subjection. In this astonishing revolution, we may readily admit that the victorious nations did not amount to one twentieth part of those that were conquered; because the former made their attacks with half their numbers of effective men, and the latter employed no more than the hundredth part of their inhabitants in their defence. But a people, who engage entirely in their own defence and support, are more powerful than ten armies raised by kings and princes.

BESIDES, - those long and bloody wars, with the accounts of which ancient history is replete, are destructive of that excessive population they seem to prove. If, on the one hand, the Romans endeavoured to supply the losses their armies sustained, in consequence of the victories they obtained, - that desire of conquest to which they were devoted, destroyed at least other nations, - for as soon as the Romans had subdued any people, they incorporated them into their own armies, and exhausted their strength as much

by recruits, as by the tribute they imposed upon them. It is well known with what rage wars were carried on by the ancients; that often in a siege, the whole town was laid in ashes; men, women, and children perished in the flames, rather than fall under the dominion of the conqueror; that in assaults, every inhabitant was put to the sword; that in regular engagements, it was thought more desirable to die sword in hand, than to be led in triumph, and be condemned to perpetual slavery. Were not these barbarous customs of war injurious to population? If as we must allow, some unhappy men were preserved to be the victims of slavery, this was but of little service to the increase of mankind, as it established in a state an extreme inequality of conditions among beings by nature equal. If the division of societies into small colonies or states, were adapted to multiply families by the partition of lands; it likewise more frequently occasioned contests among the nations; and as these small states touched one another, as it were, in an infinite number of points, in order to defend them, every inhabitant was obliged to take up arms. Large bodies are not easily put into motion on account of their bulk; small ones are in perpetual motion, which entirely destroys them.

If war were destructive of population in ancient times, peace was not always able to promote and restore it. Formerly all nations were ruled by despotic or aristocratic power, and those two forms of government are by no means favourable to the increase of the human species. The free cities of Greece were subject to laws so complicated, that there were continual dissensions among the citizens. Even the inferior class of people, who had no right of voting, obtained a superiority in the public assemblies, where a man of talents, by

BOOK XIX. the power of eloquence, might put so many men into commotion. Besides, in these states population tended to be confined to the city, in conjunction with ambition, power, riches, and in short, all the effects and springs of liberty. Not but that the lands under the democratical states must have been well cultivated and well peopled. But the democracies were few; and as they were all ambitious, and could only aggrandize themselves by war, if we except Athens, whose commerce, indeed, was also owing to the superiority of it's arms, the earth could not long flourish and increase in population. In a word, Greece and Italy were at least the only countries better peopled than they are at present.

EXCEPT in Greece, which repelled, restrained, and subdued Asia; in Carthage, which appeared for a moment on the borders of Africa, and soon declined to it's former state; and in Rome, which brought into subjection and destroyed the known world; where do we find such a degree of population, as will bear any comparison with what a traveller meets with every day, on every sea-coast along all the great rivers, and on the roads leading to capital cities? What vast forests are turned to tillage? What harvests are waving in the place of reeds that covered marshy grounds? What numbers of civilized people who subsist on dried fish, and salted provisions?

NOTWITHSTANDING this, there hath arisen, for some years past, an almost general exclamation respecting the depopulation of all states. We think we can discover the cause of these strange exclamations. Men, pressing, as it were, one upon the other, have left behind them some regions less inhabited; and the different distribution of mankind hath been taken for a diminution of the human race.

DURING a long series of ages, empires were divided into so many sovereignties, as there were private noblemen in them. Then these subjects, or the slaves of these petty despots were fixed, and that for ever, upon the territory where they were born. At the abolition of the feudal system, when there remained no more than one master, one king, and one court, all men crowded to that spot, from whence favours, riches, and honour flowed. Such was the origin of those proud capitals, where the people have been successively heaped one upon another, and which are gradually become, in a manner, the general assembly of each nation.

OTHER cities, less extensive, but still very considerable, have also been raised in each province; in proportion as the supreme authority hath been confirmed. They have been formed by the tribunals, public business, and the arts, and they have been constantly more and more increased, by the taste for the conveniences and pleasures of society.

THESE new establishments could not be formed but at the expence of the country places. Accordingly, there are scarce any inhabitants remaining there, except such as were necessary for the tilling of the lands, and for the employments that are inseparable from it. The productions have not felt the effect of this revolution; they are even become more abundant, more varied, and more agreeable; because more of them have been sought after, and better paid: because the methods, and the instruments, have acquired a degree of simplicity and of improvement they had not formerly; and because the cultivators, encouraged in a variety of ways, have become more active and more intelligent.

BOOK
XIX.

IN the police, in the morals, and in the politics, of the moderns, we may discern many causes of propagation that did not exist among the ancients: but at the same time, we observe likewise some impediments which may prevent or diminish among us that sort of progress, which, in our species, should be most conducive to it's being raised to the greatest degree of perfection. For population will never be very considerable, unless men are more numerous and more happy.

- POPULATION depends, in a great measure, on the distribution of landed property: Families are multiplied in the same manner as possessions, and when these are too large, they are always injurious to population from their inordinate extent. A man of considerable property, working only for himself, sets apart one half of his lands for his income, and the other for his pleasures. All he appropriates to hunting, is a double loss in point of cultivation, for he breeds animals on the land that should be appropriated to men, instead of subsisting men on the land which is appropriated to animals. Wood is necessary in a country for edifices and fuel: but is there any occasion for so many avenues in a park; or for parterres, and kitchen-gardens, of such extent as belong to a large estate? In this case, does luxury, which in it's magnificence contributes to the support of the arts, prove as favourable to the increase of mankind, as it might by employing the land to better purposes? Too many large estates, therefore, and too few small ones; this is the first impediment to population.

THE next obstacle, is the unalienable domains of the clergy: when so much property remains for ever in the same hands, how shall population flourish, while it entirely depends upon the improvement

ment of lands by the increase of shares among different proprietors. What interest has the incumbent to increase the value of an estate he is not to transmit to any successor, to sow or plant for a posterity not derived from himself? Far from diminishing his income to improve his lands, will he not rather impair the estate in order to increase the rents which he is to enjoy only for life?

B O O K
XIX.

THE entails of estates in great families are not less prejudicial to the propagation of mankind. They lessen at once both the nobility and the other ranks of people. As the right of primogeniture among the great, sacrifices the younger children to the interest of the elder branch; in the same manner entails destroy several families for the sake of a single one. Almost all entailed estates are ill cultivated, on account of the negligence of a proprietor who is not attached to a possession he is not to dispose of, which has been ceded to him only with regret, and which is already given to his successors, whom he cannot consider as his heirs, because they are not named by him. The right of primogeniture and of entail is therefore a law, one may say, made on purpose to defeat the increase of population in any state.

From these obstacles to population, produced by the defect of legislation, there arises a third, which is the poverty of the people. Wherever the farmers have not the property of the ground-rent, their life is miserable, and their condition precarious. Not being certain of their subsistence, which depends on their health, having but small reliance on their strength, which is not at their own disposal, and weary of their existence, they are afraid of breeding a race of wretched beings. It is an error to imagine that plenty of children

B O O K children are produced in the country, where there
 XIX. die as many, if not more, than are born every
 year. The toil of the father, and the milk of the
 mother are lost to them, and their children; for
 they will never attain to the flower of their age,
 or to that period of maturity, which, by it's ser-
 vices, will recompence all the pains that have
 been bestowed upon their education. With a
 small portion of land, the mother might bring
 up her child, and cultivate her own little garden,
 while the father, by his labour abroad, might
 add to the conveniences of his family. These
 three beings, without property, languish upon
 the little that one of them gains, or the child
 perishes.

WHAT a variety of evils arise from a faulty or
 defective legislation? Vices and calamities are
 infinite in their effects, they mutually assist each
 other in spreading general destruction, and arise
 from one another, till they are both exhausted.
 The indigence of the country produces an increase
 of troops, a burden ruinous in it's nature, de-
 structive of men in time of war, and of land in
 time of peace. It is certain that the military de-
 stroy the fields, which they do not cultivate them-
 selves; because every soldier deprives the state of
 a husbandman, and burdens it with an idle or
 useless consumer. He defends the country in
 time of peace, merely from a pernicious system,
 which, under the pretext of defence, makes all
 nations aggressors. If all governments would, as
 they easily might, let those men, whom they de-
 vote to the army, be employed in the labours
 of husbandry, the number of husbandmen and
 artisans, throughout Europe, would, in a short
 time, be considerably increased. All the powers
 of human industry would be exerted in improv-
 ing the advantages of nature, and in surmount-
 ing

ing every obstacle to improvement, every thing would concur in promoting life, not in spreading destruction

BOOK
XIX

THE deserts of Russia would be cleared, and the plains of Poland not laid waste. The vast dominions of the Turks would be cultivated, and the blessings of their Prophet would be extended over an immense population. Egypt, Syria, and Palestine would again become what they were in the times of the Phenicians, in the days of their shepherd kings, and of the Jews, who enjoyed happiness and peace under their judges. The parched mountains of Sierra Morena would be rendered fertile, the heaths of Aquitaine would be cleared of insects and be covered with people.

BUT general good is merely the delusive dream of benevolent men. This brings to my remembrance the virtuous prelate of Cambrai, and the good Abbe of St Pierre. Their works are composed with a design to make deserts inhabited, not indeed with hermits, who fly from the vices and misfortunes of the world, but with happy families, who would proclaim the glory of God upon earth, as the stars declare it in the firmament. Their writings abound with social views and sentiments of humanity, and may be considered as truly inspired, for humanity is the gift of heaven. Kings will insure the attachment of their people, in proportion as they themselves are attached to such men.

IT is scarce necessary to observe, that one of the means to favour population, is to suppress the celibacy of the regular and secular clergy. Monastic institutions have a reference to two eras remarkable in the history of the world. About the year 700 of Rome, Jesus Christ was the founder of a new religion in the East, and the subversion of Paganism

BOOK
XIX.

Paganism was soon attended with that of the Roman empire itself. Two or three hundred years after the death of Christ, Egypt and Palestine were filled with monks. About the year 700 of the Christian era, Mohammed appeared, and established a new religion in the East; and Christianity was transferred to Europe, where it fixed. Three or four hundred years afterwards, there arose multitudes of religious orders. At the time of the birth of Christ, the books of David, and those of the Sybil, foretold the destruction of the world, a deluge, or rather an universal conflagration, and general judgment: and all people, oppressed by the dominion of the Romans, wished for and believed in a general dissolution. A thousand years after the Christian era, the books of David, and those of the Sybil, still announced the last judgment: and several penitents, as ferocious and wild in their extravagant piety as in their vices, sold all their possessions to go to conquer and die upon the tomb of their redeemer. The nations groaning under the tyranny of the feudal government, wished for, and still believed in, the end of the world.

WHILE one part of the Christian world, impressed with terror, went to perish in the crusades, another part were burying themselves in cloisters. This was the origin of the monastic life in Europe. Opinion gave rise to monks, and it will be the cause of their destruction. The estates they possessed, they will leave behind them for the use and increase of society: and all those hours, that are lost in praying without devotion, will be consecrated to their primitive intention, which is labour. The clergy are to remember that, in the sacred scriptures, God says to man, in a state of innocence, Increase and multiply: to man, in a fallen state, Till the earth, and
work

work for thy subsistence. If the duties of the
 priesthood seem yet to allow the priest to incum-
 ber himself with the care of a family and an
 estate, the duties of society more strongly forbid
 celibacy. If the monks, in earlier times, cleared
 the deserts they inhabited, they now contribute
 to depopulate the towns where their number is
 very great: if the clergy has subsisted on the alms
 of the people, they in their turn reduce the peo-
 ple to beggary. Among the idle classes of so-
 ciety, the most prejudicial is that which, from
 it's very principles, must tend to promote a ge-
 neral spirit of indolence among men; make them
 waste at the altar, as well the work of the bees,
 as the salary of the workmen; which burns in
 day-time the candles that ought to be reserved
 for the night, and makes men lose in the church
 that time they owe to the care of their families;
 which engages men to ask of heaven the subsist-
 ence that the ground only can give, or produce
 in return for their toil.

THERE is still another cause of the depopulation
 of some states; which is, that want of toleration
 which persecutes and proscribes every religion but
 that of the prince on the throne. This is a species
 of oppression and tyranny peculiar to modern po-
 litics, to extend it's influence even over men's
 thoughts and consciences: a barbarous piety,
 which, for the sake of exterior forms of worship,
 extinguishes, in some degree, the very idea of the
 existence of God, by destroying multitudes of his
 worshippers: it is an impiety still more barbarous,
 that, on account of things so indifferent as religious
 ceremonies must appear, destroys the life of man,
 and impedes the population of states, which
 should be considered as points of the utmost im-
 portance. For neither the number nor the alle-
 giance of subjects is increased by exacting oaths
 contrary

B O O K XIX. contrary to conscience, by forcing into secret perjury those who are engaged in the marriage ties, or in the different professions of a citizen: Unity in religion is proper only when it is naturally established by conviction. When once that is at an end, a general liberty, if granted, would be the means of restoring tranquillity and peace of mind. When no distinction is made, but this liberty is fully and equally extended to every citizen, it can never disturb the peace of families.

NEXT to the celibacy of the clergy and of the military, the former of which arises from profession, the latter from custom, there is a third, derived from convenience, and introduced by luxury. I mean that of life annuitants. Here we may admire the chain of causes. At the same time that commerce favours population by the means of industry both by land and sea, by all the objects and operations of navigation, and by the several arts of cultivation and manufactures, it also decreases it by reason of all those vices which luxury introduces. When riches have gained a general ascendant over the minds of men, then opinions and manners alter by the intermixture of ranks. The arts and the talents of pleasing corrupt society, while they polish it. When the intercourse between the sexes becomes frequent, they mutually seduce each other, and the weaker induce the stronger to adopt the frivolous turn for dress and amusement. The women become children, and the men effeminate. Entertainments are the sole topic of their conversation, and the object of their occupation: The manly and robust exercises, by which the youth were trained up to discipline, and prepared for the most important and dangerous professions, give place to the love of public shews, where every passion that can render a nation effeminate is caught, as long

as there is no appearance of a patriotic spirit B O O K
among them. Indolence prevails among all per- XIX.
sons of easy circumstances, and labour diminishes
among that class of men destined to be employed
in it. The variety of arts multiplies fashions,
and these increase our expences; articles of luxury
become necessary; what is superfluous is looked
upon as needful; and people in general are better
dressed, but do not live so well; and purchase
clothes at the expence of the necessaries of life.
The lower class of men become debauched before
they are sensible of the passion of love, and mar-
rying later, have fewer or weaker children: the
tradesman seeks a fortune not a wife, and he pre-
maturely loses both the one and the other, in the
excesses of libertinism. The rich, whether mar-
ried or not, are continually seducing women of
every rank, or debauching girls of low condition.
The difficulty of supporting the charges of mar-
riage, and the readiness of finding the joys of it
without bearing any of it's disagreeable inconve-
niences, tends to increase the number of unmar-
ried people in every class of life. The man
who renounces the hope of being the father of a
family, consumes his patrimony, and in concert
with the state, which increases his income, by
borrowing money from him at a ruinous interest,
he lavishes upon one generation the support of
many; he extinguishes his own posterity as well as
that of the women by whom he is rewarded, and
that of the girls who are paid by him. Every
kind of prostitution prevails at the same time.
Honour and duty is forfeited in every rank; the
ruin of the women is but the forerunner of that
of the men.

THE nation that is inclined to gallantry, or ra-
ther to libertinism, soon loses it's power and cre-
dit in other countries, and is ruined at home.

There

B O O K There is no longer any nobility, no longer any
XIX. body of men to defend their own or the people's
rights; for every where division and self-interest
prevails. No one wishes to be ruined alone. The
love of riches becomes the general object of attrac-
tion, the honest man is apprehensive of losing his
fortune, and the man of no honour is intent upon
making his: the one retires from the world, the
other sets himself up to sale, and thus the state is
lost. Such is the constant progress of commerce
in a monarchical government. What it's effects
are in a republic we know from ancient history.
But still it is necessary at this period to excite men
to commerce, because the present situation of Eu-
rope is favourable to it, and commerce itself pro-
motes population.

BUT it will be asked, whether a great degree of
population be useful in promoting the happiness
of mankind. This is an idle question. In fact,
the point is not to multiply men, in order to make
them happy; but it is sufficient to make them
happy, that they should multiply. All the means
which concur in the prosperity of any state, tend
of themselves to the propagation of it's people. A
legislator desirous of an increase of people merely
to have a great number of soldiers, and of sub-
jects, only for the purpose of subduing his neigh-
bours, would be a monster, and an enemy to the
human race, since his plans of political increase
would be solely directed to the destruction of
others. A legislator, on the contrary, who, like
Solon, should form a republic, whose multitudes
might people the desert coasts of the sea; or who,
like Penn, should make laws for the cultivation
of his colony, and forbid war, such a legislator
would undoubtedly be considered as a God on
earth. Even though his name should not be im-
mortalized, he would live in happiness, and die
contented,

contented, especially if he could be certain of leaving behind him laws of such wisdom, as to free the people for ever from the vexation of taxes. BOOK
XIX.

It is to be presumed from what we know of the state of the savages, that the advantage of not being confined by the restraints of our ridiculous clothing, the unwholesome inclosure of superb edifices, and the complicated tyranny of our customs, laws, and manners, is not a compensation for a precarious life, for contusions received, and perpetual combats engaged for a portion of a forest, for a cavern, a bow, an arrow, a fruit, a fish, a bird, a quadruped, the skin of a beast, or the possession of a woman. Let misanthropy exaggerate at pleasure the vices of our cities, it will not succeed in disgusting us of those express or tacit conventions, nor of those artificial virtues, which constitute the security and the charm of our societies. Taxes.

THERE are undoubtedly assassins among us, there are violators of an asylum, there are monsters whose avidity, indigence, or laziness, disgust the social order. There are other monsters, perhaps more detestable, who, possessed of a plenty which would be sufficient for two or three thousand families, are only occupied in increasing the misery of them. I shall not the less implore benediction upon the public strength, which most commonly insures my person and my property, in return for the contributions which it requires from me.

A TAX may be defined, a sacrifice of a part of a man's property for the defence of the rest: it follows from hence, that there should not be any tax either among people in a state of slavery, or among savages: for the former no longer enjoy

BOOK XIX. joy any property, and the latter have not yet acquired any.

BUT when a nation possesses any large and valuable property, when it's fortune is sufficiently established, and is considerable enough to make the expences of government necessary, when it has possessions, trade, and wealth capable of tempting the avidity of it's neighbours, who may be poor or ambitious; then, in order to guard it's frontiers, or it's provinces, to protect it's navigation, and keep up it's police, there is a necessity for forces and for a revenue. It is but just and requisite, that the persons who are employed in any manner for the public good, should be maintained by all the other orders of the society.

THERE have been countries and times, in which a portion of the territory was assigned for the public expences of the state. The government, not being enabled of itself to turn such extensive possessions to advantage, was forced to intrust this charge to administrators, who either neglected the revenues, or appropriated them to their own use. This practice brought on still greater inconveniences. Either the royal domains were too considerable in time of peace, or insufficient for the calls of war. In the first instance, the liberty of the state was oppressed by the ruler of it, and in the latter, by strangers. It has, therefore, been found necessary to have recourse to the contributions of the citizens.

THESE funds were in early times not considerable. The stipends then allowed were merely an indemnification to those whom public affairs prevented from attending to those employments that were necessary for their subsistence. Their reward arose from that pleasing sensation which we experience from an internal consciousness of our own virtue,

virtue, and from the view of the homage paid to it by other men. This moral wealth was the greatest treasure of rising societies; a kind of coin which it was equally the interest of government and of morality not to diminish the value of.

HONOUR held the place of taxes no less in the flourishing periods of Greece, than in the infant state of societies. The patriot, who served his country, did not think he had any right to destroy it. The impost laid by Aristides on all Greece, for the support of the war against Persia, was so moderate, that those who were to contribute of themselves, called it *the happy fortune of Greece!* What times were these, and what a country, in which taxes made the happiness of the people!

THE Romans acquired power and empire almost without any assistance from the public treasury. The love of wealth would have diverted them from the conquest of the world. The public service was attended to without any views of interest, even after their manners had been corrupted.

UNDER the feudal government, there were no taxes, for on what could they have been levied? The man and the land were both the property of the Lord. It was both a real and a personal servitude.

WHEN knowledge began to diffuse its light over Europe, the nations turned their thoughts towards their own security. They voluntarily furnished contributions to repress foreign and domestic enemies. But those tributes were moderate, because princes were not yet absolute enough to divert them to purposes of their own caprices, or to the advantage of their ambition.

THE New World was discovered, and the passion for conquest engaged every nation. That

BOOK
XIX.

spirit of aggrandizement was inconsistent with the slowness with which affairs are managed in popular assemblies; and sovereigns succeeded without much difficulty in appropriating to themselves greater rights than they had ever before enjoyed. The imposition of taxes was the most important of their usurpations, and it is that, the consequences of which have been the most pernicious.

- PRINCES have even ventured to render the marks of servitude apparent upon all their subjects, by levying a poll-tax. Independent of the humiliation it is attended with, can any thing be more arbitrary than such a tax.

Is the tax to be levied upon voluntary information? But this would require between the monarch and his subjects an attachment to each other arising from a principle of duty, which should unite them by a mutual love of the general good; or, at least, a regard to public welfare, to inspire the one with confidence in the other, by a sincere and reciprocal communication of their intelligence, and of their sentiments. Even then, upon what is this conscientious principle to be founded, which is to serve as an instructor, a guide, and a check in the affairs of government?

Is the sanctuary of families, or the closet of the citizen, to be invaded, in order to gain by surprise, and bring to light, what he does not chuse to reveal, what it is often of importance to him not to discover. What an inquisition is this! What an injurious violence! Though we should even become acquainted with the resources and means of subsistence of every individual, do they not vary from one year to another with the uncertain and precarious productions of industry? Are they not lessened by the increase of children, by the decay of strength through sickness, age, and laborious

laborious occupations. The very faculties of the human species, which are useful and employed in laborious occupations, do they not change with those vicissitudes occasioned by time in every thing that depends on nature and fortune? The personal tax is a vexation then to the individual, without being a general benefit. A poll-tax is a sort of slavery, oppressive to the man, without being profitable to the state.

AFTER princes had imposed this tax, which is a mark of despotism, or which leads to it sooner or later, imposts were then laid upon articles of consumption. Sovereigns have affected to consider this new tribute as in some measure voluntary, because it rises in proportion to the expenses of the subject, which he is at liberty to increase or diminish according to his abilities, or his propensities, which are for the most part factitious.

BUT if taxation affect the commodities which are of immediate necessity, it must be considered as an act of the greatest cruelty. Previous to all the laws of society, man had a right to subsist. And is he to lose that right by the establishment of laws? To sell the produce of the earth to the people at a high price, is in reality to deprive them of it: to wrest from them by a tax the natural means of preserving life, is, in fact, to affect the very principle of their existence. By extorting the subsistence of the needy, the state takes from him his strength with his food. It reduces the poor man to a state of beggary; and the labouring man to that of idleness; it makes the unfortunate man become a rogue; that is, it is the cause of bringing the man who is ready to starve to an untimely end, from the extreme distress to which he is reduced.

BOOK
XIX.

If the imposts affect commodities less necessary, how many hands, lost to tillage and the arts, are employed, not in guarding the bulwarks of the empire, but in crowding the kingdom with an infinite number of useless barriers; in embarrassing the gates of towns; infesting the highways and roads of commerce; and searching into cellars, granaries, and storehouses! What a state of war between prince and people, between subject and subject! How many prisons, gallies, and gibbets prepared for a number of unhappy persons who have been urged on to fraudulent practices, to smuggling, and even to piracy, by the iniquity of the revenue laws!

THE avidity of sovereigns has extended itself from the articles of consumption to those of traffic, carried on from one state to another. Insatiable tyrants! Will ye never be sensible, that if ye lay duties on what ye offer to the stranger, he will buy at a cheaper rate, he will give only the price demanded by other states: if even your own subjects were the sole proprietors of that produce you have taxed, they still would never be able to make other nations submit to such exactions; for in that case the demand would be for a less quantity, and the overplus would oblige them to lower the price, in order to find a sale for it.

THE duty on merchandise which one state receives from another, is not less unreasonable. The price of the goods, being regulated by the competition of other countries, the duties will be paid by the subjects of that state which buys commodities for its neighbours. Possibly, the increase in the price of foreign produce may diminish the consumption of it. But if a less quantity of merchandise be sold to any country, a less quantity will be purchased of it. The profits of trade are to be estimated in proportion to the

the quantity of merchandise sold and bought. BOOK
XIX
Commerce is in fact nothing more than exchange of the value of one commodity for that of another. It is not possible then to oppose the course of these exchanges, without lowering the value of the productions that are sold, by restraining the sale of them.

WHETHER therefore duties be laid on our own or on foreign merchandise, the industry of the subject will necessarily suffer by it. The means of payment will be fewer, and there will be less raw materials to work up. The greater diminution there is in the annual produce, the greater also will be the decrease of labour. Then all the laws that can be made against beggars will be ineffectual, for man must live on what is given him, if he cannot live by what he earns.

BUT what then is the mode of taxation the most proper to conciliate the public interest with the rights of individuals? It is the land tax. An impost is, with respect to the person, upon whom it is charged, an annual expence. It can only, therefore, be assessed on an annual revenue; for nothing but an annual revenue can discharge an annual expence. Now there never can be any annual revenue, except that of the land. It is land only which returns yearly what has been bestowed upon it, with an additional profit that may be disposed of. It is but within these few years that we have begun to be sensible of this important truth! Some men of abilities will one day be able to demonstrate the evidence of it: and that government which first makes this the foundation of it's system, will necessarily be raised to a degree of prosperity unknown to all nations and all ages.

PERHAPS, there is no estate in Europe at present whose situation admits of so great a change. The taxes

BOOK XIX. taxes are every where so heavy, the expences so multiplied, the wants so urgent, the treasury of the state in general so much indebted, that a sudden change in the mode of raising the public revenues, would infallibly alter the confidence and disturb the peace of the subject. But an enlightened and provident policy will tend, by slow and gradual steps, towards so salutary an end. With courage and prudence it will remove every obstacle that prejudice, ignorance, and private interest might have to oppose to a system of administration, the advantages of which appear to us beyond all calculation.

In order that nothing may lessen the benefits of this fortunate innovation, it will be necessary that all lands without distinction should be subjected to taxation. The public weal is a treasure in common, wherein every individual should deposit his tribute, his service, and his abilities. Names and titles will never change the nature of men and their possessions. It would be the utmost meanness and folly to avail ourselves of distinctions, received from our ancestors, in order to withdraw ourselves from the burdens of society. Every mark of distinction that is not of general utility should be considered as injurious, it can only be equitable, when it is founded on a formal engagement of devoting our lives and fortunes in a more particular manner to the service of our country.

If in our days, the tax were laid for the first time upon the land, would it not necessarily be supposed that the contribution should be proportioned to the extent and value of the estates? Would any one venture to allege his employments, his services, his dignities, in order to screen himself from the tributes required for the public service? What connection have taxes with

with ranks, titles, and conditions? They relate only to the revenue: and this belongs to the state, as soon as it becomes necessary for the public defence. BOOK XIX.

THE manner in which the tax ought to be laid upon the lands is more difficult to ascertain. Some writers have imagined; that ecclesiastical tithes, unfortunately levied in the greatest part of Europe, would be a proper mode to be adopted. In that system, say they, there could be no fraud nor mistake. According as circumstances should require more efforts on the part of the people, the treasury would take a fourth, a fifth, a sixth part of the productions at the time of the harvest, and every thing would be settled without constraint, without deceit, without mistrust, and without oppression.

BUT in this mode of levying how will the tax be collected, for objects so multiplied; so variable; and so little known? Would not the form of administration require enormous expences? Would not the forming of the tax give occasion to profits too considerable? If this arrangement should therefore appear most fatal to citizens, would it not be most fatal to government? How can any one possibly doubt, that the interest of the individual is the same as that of the society? Can any one be still ignorant of the close connection there is between the sovereign who asks and the subjects who grant?

BESIDES, this impost, apparently so equal, would in fact be the most disproportioned of all those which ignorance hath ever suggested. While one contributor should be required to give up only the fourth of his revenue, one half, and sometimes more, would be taken from others, who, in order to obtain the same quantity of productions, will have been obliged, by the nature

BOOK XIX. nature of an ungrateful soil, or by the difficulty of working it, to support expences infinitely more considerable.

THESE inconveniences have occasioned an idea to be rejected, which has been proposed or supported by men little versed in political economy, but disgusted, with reason, at the arbitrary manner in which they saw the lands taxed. Suppose the extent of the domain be admitted as a rule, yet it must be considered that there are some lands which can pay a great deal, others which can pay little, and some, even, which can pay nothing, because the profits remaining, after all the expences, are scarce sufficient to determine the most intelligent man to cultivate them. If an exact state of the leases be demanded, will not the farmers and proprietors act in concert to deceive the government? and what means are there to discover a fraud, planned with consummate art? If you will allow men to give in the account of their own estates, for one of these declarations that shall be honest, will there not be a hundred false ones? and will not the citizen of strict probity be the victim of him who is destitute of principles? In the mode of taking an estimation of the value of the lands, will not the agent of the treasury suffer himself to be suborned by contributors, whose interest it is to bribe him? Suppose the care of making the repartitions be left to the inhabitants of each district, it is undoubtedly the most equitable rule, the most conformable to the rights of nature and property; and yet it must necessarily produce so many cabals, altercations, and animosities, so violent a collision between the passions, which will interfere with each other, that it cannot be productive of that system of equity which might insure the public happiness.

A REGISTER book, which would cautiously measure the lands, which would appreciate, with equity, their value, would alone be capable of effecting this fortunate revolution. This principle, so simple and so evident, hath been rarely applied, and then but imperfectly. It is to be hoped, that this fine institution, though warmly opposed by authority and by corruption, will be improved in those states where it has been adopted, and that it will be introduced in the empires where it doth not yet exist. The monarch who shall signalize his reign by this great benefit, will

BOOK
XIX.

be blessed during his life, his memory will be ar to posterity, and his felicity will be extended yond ages, if, as it cannot be doubted, there is a God, the remunerator of good actions.

BUT let not government, under whatever form may have been established, or still subsists, ever vary the measure of imposts to excess. It is so; that in their origin they rendered men more live; more sober, and more intelligent; and at they have thus contributed to the prosperity of empires. This opinion is not destitute of probability; but it is still more certain, that when the taxes have been extended beyond the proper limits, they have stopped the labours, extinguished industry, and produced discouragement.

THOUGH man hath been condemned by nature to perpetual watchings in order to secure a subsistence, this urgent care hath not exerted all his faculties. His desires have been extended much beyond this; and the more numerous are the objects which have entered into his plan of happiness, the more repeated have been his efforts to attain them. If he hath been reduced, by tyranny, to expect nothing more from obstinate labour than articles of primary necessity, his activity hath been diminished; he hath himself contracted the sphere

sphere of his wants. Troubled, soured, and exhausted by the oppressive spirit of the treasury, he hath either languished by his wretched fire-side, or hath quitted his country in search of a less unfortunate destiny, or hath led a wandering and vagabond life over desolated provinces. Most societies have, at different periods, suffered these calamities, and exhibited this hideous spectacle.

ACCORDINGLY, it is an error, and a very great one, to judge of the power of empires by the revenue of the sovereign. This basis of calculation would be the best that could be established, if the tributes were proportioned to the abilities of the citizens; but when the republic is oppressed by the weight or the variety of the imposts, these riches, far from being a sign of national prosperity, are a mark of decay. The people, unable to furnish any extraordinary assistance to the mother-country, when threatened or invaded, yield to a foreign yoke, and submit to shameful and ruinous laws. The catastrophe is hastened, when the treasury has recourse to the farming of the revenue, in order to collect the taxes.

THE contribution of the citizens towards the public treasury is a tribute: they should present it themselves to the sovereign, who, on his part, ought prudently to direct the employment of it. Every intermediate agent destroys these connections, which cannot be too nearly united. His influence becomes an unavoidable source of division and ravage. It is under this odious aspect that the farmers of the taxes have always been considered.

THE farmers of the revenue contrive the taxes; and it is their business to multiply them. They envelop them in obscurity, in order to give them the degree of extension most suitable to themselves. Their interests are supported by judges chosen by

by themselves. They bribe every access to the throne; and they cause at pleasure their zeal to be extolled, or the people, to be calumniated, who are dissatisfied, with reason, at their vexations. By those vile artifices they plunge the province into the lowest degree of misery, while their own coffers regurgitate with riches. Then it is that the laws, manners, honour, and the little remains of the blood of the nation, are sold to them at the vilest price. The contractor enjoys, without shame, or remorse, these infamous and criminal advantages, till he hath destroyed the state, the prince, and himself.

FREE nations have seldom experienced this terrible destiny. Humane and considerate principles have made them prefer an administration almost always of a paternal kind, to receive the contributions of the citizens. It is in absolute governments that the tyrannical custom of farming out the revenue is peculiarly adopted. Governments have sometimes been alarmed at the ravages occasioned by this practice; but timid, ignorant, or indolent administrators, have apprehended, that in the confusion in which things were, a total subversion would be the consequence of the least change. Wherefore, then, should not the time of the disease be that of the remedy? Then it is that the minds of men are better disposed to a change, that opposition is less violent, and that the revolution is more easily accomplished.

It is not, however, sufficient that the impost should be levied with equity, and that it should be collected with moderation; it is further necessary that it should be proportioned to the wants of government, which are not always the same. War hath ever required in all countries, and in every age, more considerable expences than peace.

The

B O O K XIX. The ancients made a provision for them by their œconomy in times of tranquillity. Since the advantages of circulation, and the principles of industry, have been better understood, the method of laying up specie for this purpose has been proscribed, and that of imposing extraordinary taxes has been, with reason, preferred. Every state that should prohibit them would find itself obliged, in order to protract it's fall, to have recourse to the methods made use of at Constantinople. The Sultan, who can do every thing but augment his revenues, is constrained to give up the empire to the extortions of his delegates, that he may afterwards deprive them of what they have plundered from his subjects.

THAT taxes may not be exorbitant, they should be ordered, regulated, and administered by the representatives of the people. The impost has ever depended on, and must be proportioned to, the property possessed. He who is not master of the produce is not master of the field. Tributes, therefore, among all nations have always been first imposed upon proprietors only; whether the lands were divided among the conquerors, or the clergy shared them with the nobles; or whether they passed, by means of commerce and industry, into the hands of the generality of the citizens. Every where, those who were in possession of them had reserved to themselves the natural, unalienable, and sacred right, of not being taxed without their own consent. If we do not admit this principle, there is no longer any monarchy, or any nation; there is nothing remaining but a despotic master, and a herd of slaves.

Ye people, whose kings command every thing at pleasure, read over again the history of your own country. You will see that your ancestors assembled themselves, and deliberated, whenever a sub-

a subsidy was in agitation. - If this custom be neglected, the right is not lost; it is recorded in heaven, which has given the earth to mankind to possess; it is written on the field you have taken the pains to inclose, in order to secure to yourselves the enjoyment of it: it is written in your hearts, where the divinity has impressed the love of liberty. Man, whose head is raised towards heaven, was not made in the image of his Creator to bow before man. - No one is greater than another, but by the choice and consent of all. Ye courtiers, your greatness consists in your lands, and is not to be found in your attendance on your master. Be less ambitious, and ye will be richer. Do justice to your vassals, and ye will improve your fortunes by increasing the general happiness. - What advantage can ye propose to yourselves by raising the edifice of despotism upon the ruins of every kind of liberty, virtue, sentiment, and property? Consider that, this power will crush you all. Around this formidable Colossus ye are no more, than figures of bronze, representing the nations chained at the feet of a statue.

- If the right of imposing taxes be in the prince alone, though it may not be for his interest to burden and oppress his people, yet they will be burdened and oppressed. The caprices, profusions, and encroachments of the sovereign, will no longer know any bounds when they meet with no obstacles. A false and cruel system of politics will soon persuade him, that rich subjects will always become insolent; that they must be distressed, in order to be reduced to subjection; and that poverty is the firmest rampart of the throne. He will proceed so far as to believe that every thing is at his disposal; that, nothing belongs to his slaves;

B O O'K slaves; and that he does them a favour in leaving
 XIX. them any thing.

THE government will appropriate to itself all the means and resources of industry; and will lay such restraints on the exports and imports of every article of trade; as will entirely absorb the profits arising from it. Commerce will only be circulated by the interference, and for the benefit of the treasury. Cultivation will be neglected by mercenaries who can have no hopes of acquiring property. The nobility will serve in the army only for pay. The magistrate will give judgment only for the sake of his fees and his salary. Merchants will keep their fortunes concealed, in order that they may convey them out of a land where there is no spirit of patriotism; nor any security left. The nation, then losing all its importance, will conceive an indifference for its kings; will see its enemies only in those who are its masters; will be induced to hope that a change of slavery will tend to alleviate the yoke of it; will expect its deliverance from a revolution, and the restoration of its tranquillity from an entire overthrow of the state.

"THIS description is dreadful," said a vizier to me, for there are viziers every where. "I am concerned at it. But without contribution, how can I maintain that strength of the state, the necessity and advantage of which you yourself acknowledge? This strength should be permanent, and always equal; otherwise there would be no more security for your persons, your property, or your industry. Happiness undefended is no more than a chimera. My expences are independent of the variety of seasons, of the inclemency of the elements, and of all accidents. It is therefore necessary that they should be supplied by you, although a pestilence

“pestilence should have destroyed your cattle, B O O K
 “though insects should have devoured your vines, XIX.
 “and though the hail should have rooted up your
 “harvests. You must pay, or I will turn against
 “you that strength of the state, which hath been
 “created for your safety, and which it is your
 “business to maintain.”

THIS oppressive system concerned only the proprietors of lands. The vizier soon informed me of the means which he employed, to render the other members of the confederacy subservient to the treasury.

“It is chiefly in the cities that the mechanical
 “and liberal arts, of utility or ornament, of ne-
 “cessity or fancy, are concentrated, or at least
 “their activity, their display, or their improve-
 “ment. There it is that the rich, and conse-
 “quently indolent citizens, attracted or fixed by
 “the charms of society, endeavour to delude the
 “wearisomeness of life by factitious wants. There
 “it is, that in order to gratify them, they employ
 “the poor, or, which is the same thing, the in-
 “dustrious man; who, in his turn, in order to
 “satisfy the wants of primary necessity, which
 “are for a long time the only wants with which
 “he is tormented, endeavours to multiply the
 “factitious wants of the rich man; from whence
 “arises between the one and the other a mutual
 “dependence, founded upon their respective in-
 “terests; for the industrious man wishes to la-
 “bour, while the rich man wishes to enjoy.
 “If, therefore, I can tax the necessary articles
 “of all the inhabitants of cities, whether indus-
 “trious or idle, that is to say, if I can raise the
 “price, for the state, of all the commodities
 “and merchandise which are consumed there,
 “by the wants of all the individuals; I shall then
 “have taxed all the species of industry, and I
 shall

B O O K
XIX.

"shall have brought them to the condition of
"the industrious husbandman; I shall have done
"still more; and especially, let not this circum-
"stance escape your notice, I, shall have made
"the rich pay for the poor, because the latter
"will not fail to raise the price of his producti-
"ons, in proportion to the multiplication of his
"wants."

I CONJURE thee, vizier, to spare, at least, the
air; the water, the fire, and even the corn, which
is not less, than those three elements; the sacred
right of every man, without exception. Deprived
of light, no one can either live or act; and with-
out life or action there can be no industry.

"I WILL think of it. But, attend to me in all
"the different plans, by which I have compre-
"hended all the other objects of necessity, espe-
"cially in the cities. In the first place, being
"master of the frontiers of the empire, I suffer,
"nothing to come from foreigners, nor any
"thing to be conveyed to them, unless they pay
"in proportion to the number, weight, and va-
"lue of the thing sent. By this mode, he who
"hath manufactured, or who exports, yields to
"me a part of his profits; and he who receives
"or consumes, gives me something above what
"belongs to the merchant, or to the manufac-
"turer."

I UNDERSTAND, vizier, but by interfering thus
between the seller and the purchaser, between the
manufacturer, or the merchant, and the consumer,
without being called upon, and without your in-
terference being profitable to them, since, on the
contrary, you keep it up to their detriment; doth
it not happen, that on their parts they endeavour,
by deceiving thee some how or other, to diminish
thy share, or even to frustrate thee of it?

"UN-

“ UNDOUBTEDLY : but of what use would the BOOK
XIX.
 “ strength of the state be to me then, if I did not
 “ employ it in finding out the fraud, in guarding
 “ against it, or in punishing it? If they endea-
 “ vour to with-hold or, to diminish my share, I
 “ take the whole ; and even sometimes proceed
 “ a little further.”

I COMPREHEND you : Thus it is that wars and
 exactions are still maintained on the frontiers, and
 on the borders of the provinces ; and that, in or-
 der to press upon that fortunate industry, which
 is the tie of the most distant nations, and of the
 people the most separated by their manners and
 by their religion.

“ I AM sorry for it. But every thing must be
 “ sacrificed to the strength of the state, to that
 “ bulwark which is raised against the jealousy
 “ and rapaciousness of neighbouring powers. The
 “ interest of particular individuals, doth not al-
 “ ways agree with that of the greater number.
 “ One effect of the proceeding you complain of is,
 “ to preserve to you commodities and productions,
 “ which personal advantage would deprive you of
 “ by exporting them to foreign countries ; and I
 “ prohibit the importation of foreign merchandise,
 “ which, by the super-abundance they would oc-
 “ casion, when united to your's, would lower the
 “ price of the latter.”

I THANK thee, vizier : but is it necessary that
 thou shouldst have troops ? Those troops are
 very inconvenient. And couldst thou not serve
 me without a military parade ?

“ If you perpetually interrupt me, you will
 “ lose the thread of my subtle and marvellous
 “ operations. After having laid a tax on mer-
 “ chandise, on it's entrance, and on it's going
 “ out of the empire, on it's passage from one
 “ province to the other, I follow the track of the
 VOL. VI. K k “ tra-

BOOK
XIX.

traveller, who goes through my district on account of his affairs, or through motives of curiosity. I follow the peasant who carries to town the produce of the fields, or of his farm-yard; and when thirst drives him into a public house, by means of an association with the master. . . ."

WHAT, vizier! An inn-keeper is your associate?

"CERTAINLY. Is there any thing despicable, when the maintenance of the strength of the state, and consequently the wealth of the treasury, is concerned? By means of this association, I receive part of the price of the liquor consumed there."

BUT vizier, how does it happen that you come to be the partner of the keeper of an inn or tavern, in the sale of his liquors? Is it possible that you should be his purveyor.

"I HIS purveyor! This is what I would carefully avoid. Where would be the advantage of selling the wine, which the vine-dresser might have given me as the tribute of his industry? I am better acquainted with the management of my affairs. In the first place, I am in partnership with the vine-keeper or proprietor, with the brewer and the distiller of brandy, by which I obtain part of the price for which they sell them to the inn-holders, or keepers of public houses; and I have afterwards another with the latter, by which they are accountable to me in their turn, for a portion of the price which they receive from the consumer, leaving the seller at liberty to recover from the consumer that share of the price which belongs to me from the consumption."

It must be acknowledged that this is very fine.

BUT vizier, how do you manage to be present at

all

all the sales of liquors which are made in your BOOK
XIX.
 empire? How doth it happen that you are not
 pilfered by these inn-keepers, who have been noto-
 riously dishonest, ever since the times of the Ro-
 mans, though the questors were not in partner-
 ship with them? After what you have intrusted
 to me I do not doubt of any thing, but I am cu-
 rious.

“ It is in this instance that I shall appear bold
 “ to you, and that you will admire my sagacity. It
 “ is impossible to aspire to every kind of merit
 “ and of glory. First, no man is allowed to
 “ move a hogshead of wine, of cyder, beer, or
 “ of brandy, either from the place where it is
 “ produced or prepared, or from the ware-
 “ house or from the cellar, either to sell or to
 “ transport, no matter for what purpose, without
 “ my permission in writing. By this I know
 “ what becomes of them. If any liquor be
 “ met without this passport I seize upon it;
 “ and the proprietor pays me immediately a
 “ third, or a fourth more than the value. Af-
 “ terwards the same agents, who are employed
 “ night and day, in all parts, to ascertain to me
 “ the honesty of the proprietors, or wholesale
 “ merchants, in keeping their compact of asso-
 “ ciation, enter every day twice rather than
 “ once, into the house of each inn or tavern-
 “ keeper, where they sound the vessels, reckon
 “ the bottles; and if there be the least suspicion
 “ of pilfering upon my share, the punishment is
 “ so severe as to prevent their being tempted a
 “ second time.”

BUT, vizier, in order to please you, are not
 your agents so many petty subaltern tyrants?

“ I MAKE no doubt of it; and I reward them
 “ well for it.”

BOOK. VERY well; but vizier, I have one scruple.
 XIX. These associations, with the proprietor and with the merchants in wholesale and in retail, have a little the appearance of those which the highwayman contracts with the passenger whom he robs.

" You do not consider what you say. My
 " associations are authorized by law, and by the
 " sacred institution of the strength of the state.
 " Can no circumstance then have an influence
 " upon your mind? But let me now persuade you
 " to come with me to the gates of the city, where
 " you will not find me less admirable. Nothing
 " enters there without bringing some profit to
 " me. Should they be liquors, they contribute,
 " not in proportion to their value, as in my other
 " arrangements, but according to their quantity;
 " and you may be assured that I am not the dupe.
 " The inn-keeper, or the citizen, have nothing
 " to say, although I have besides some concern
 " with them, at the time of the purchase and of
 " the sale, for it is in a different manner. If
 " they be provisions, I have my agents, not only
 " at the gates, but at the slaughter-houses and in
 " the fish-markets; and no one would attempt
 " to plunder me, without risking more than he
 " could get by the fraud. Less precautions are
 " necessary in respect to wood, forage, or paper.
 " These mercantile articles cannot be pilfered
 " as a flask of wine is. I have, however, my
 " emissaries on the roads, and in the bye-places,
 " and woe be to those who should be found en-
 " deavouring to elude my vigilance. You see;
 " therefore, that whoever dwells in cities, whet-
 " ther he may live by his industry, or whether he
 " may employ his income, or a part of his profits,
 " in a salary for the industrious man, still no one
 " can consume without paying; and that all men
 " pay more for the usual and indispensable con-
 " sumptions,

“sumptions, than for the rest. I have laid every
 “kind of industry under contribution, without
 “it’s perceiving it. There are, however, some
 “branches of it with which I have endeavoured
 “to treat more directly, because their common
 “residence is not in towns, and that I have
 “imagined they would be more profitable to
 “me from a special contribution. For instance,
 “I have agents in the forges and furnaces, where
 “iron, which is put to so many different uses, is
 “manufactured and weighed; I have some in
 “the workshops of the tanners, where the hides,
 “which are of such general utility, are manufac-
 “tured; I have some among all those persons
 “who work in gold, silver, plate, and jewels;
 “and you will not accuse me, in this instance, of
 “attacking objects of primary necessity. In pro-
 “portion as my experiments succeed I extend
 “them. I flatter myself that I shall one day be
 “able to fix my satellites by the side of the linen
 “looms, because they are so universally useful.
 “But do not impart my secret to any one.
 “Whenever my speculations get wind, it is al-
 “ways to my detriment.”

“I AM truly stricken, vizier, with your sagacity,
 or with that of your sublime predecessors.
 They have digged mines of gold every where.
 They have made of your country a Peru, the
 inhabitants of which have, perhaps, had the same
 destiny as those of the other continent; but of
 what concern is it to you? But you say nothing
 to me of the salt, and the tobacco, which you sell
 ten times above their intrinsic value, though salt
 be the most necessary article in life, after bread
 and water. What is the meaning of your silence?
 Are you sensible of the contradiction in your con-
 duct in selling this article, and refusing to col-
 lect

BOOK XIX. left the other contributions in kind, under pretence of the trouble of selling again?

"Nor in the least. The difference is easily perceived. If I received from the proprietor or cultivator his share of contribution in kind, in order to sell it again afterwards, I become his competitor in the markets. My predecessors have been prudent, in reserving to themselves the exclusive distribution of them. This hath been attended with some difficulty. In order to bring those two streams of gold into the reservoir of the treasury, it was necessary to forbid the culture and the manufacture of tobacco in the nation; which doth not dispense me from keeping upon the frontiers, and even in the interior parts of the empire, an army, to prevent the introduction and the competition of any other tobacco with mine."

HAVE you found these expedients successful, vizier?

"Not so fully as I could have wished, notwithstanding the severity of the penal laws. As for the salt, the difficulty was much greater; I cannot but acknowledge my concern at it. My predecessors committed an irreparable blunder. Under pretence of dispensing a useful favour, necessary to some of the maritime provinces, or, perhaps, induced by the allurements of a considerable sum, though a temporary one, which other provinces paid, to be allowed to furnish themselves with salt as they chose; they gave way to exceptions, the consequences of which are, that it is not I who sell it, in one third of the extent of the empire, or thereabouts. I am indeed in great hopes of altering this; but I must wait for the moment of distress."

INDEPENDENT, therefore, of the armies which you maintain upon the frontiers, to prevent the importa-

importation of tobacco and foreign merchandise, BOOK
XIX
 you have still others in the inland parts of the country, to prevent the sale of the salt belonging to the free provinces from coming into competition with the sale of your's

"It is true. However I must do justice to our ancient viziers. They have left me a very well contrived system of legislation. For instance, those persons of the free countries bordering upon those provinces where I sell, are allowed to sell as little salt as possible, to prevent them from selling it to my prejudice, and by a consequence of the same wise measures, those who are to purchase of me, and who, being near the free countries, might be tempted to provide themselves at a cheaper rate, are compelled to take more than they can consume."

AND is this custom consecrated by law?

"Yes, and supported by the august strength of the state. I am authorized to number the families, and if any one of them should not purchase the quantity of salt that I think necessary for their consumption, they are obliged to pay for it, all the same as if they had."

AND every person who shall salt their meat with any other salt than your's, will certainly suffer for it.

"EXCEEDINGLY. Beside the seizure of this iniquitous salt, it costs him more than he would expend for supplying his family for several years."

AND what becomes of the seller?

"THE seller! He is of course a robber, a plunderer, a malefactor, whom I reduce to beggary if he has any thing, and whom I send to the galleys if he has nothing."

BUT

BOOK XIX. But are you not, vizier, exposed to incessant law-suits?

"I HAVE many upon my hands; but there is a particular court of justice, to which the exclusive determination of them is committed."

AND how dost thou extricate thyself from them? Is it by the interference of thy favourite principle, the strength of the state?

"WITH that, and with money."

I CAN but admire, vizier, thy head and thy courage. Thy head, which attends to so many objects, and thy courage, which faces so many enemies. You have been typified in the holy scriptures by Ishmael, whose hands were uplifted against all, and those of all raised against him.

"ALAS, I own it! But the importance of the strength of the state, and the extent of its wants are such, that it hath been necessary to have recourse to other expedients. Besides what the proprietor is annually indebted to me for the produce of his estate; if he should resolve to sell it, the purchaser must pay me a sum above the price agreed on with the seller. I have rated all human compacts, and no man enters into any kind of contract without furnishing me a contribution proportioned either to the object or the nature of the convention. This examination implies a set of profound agents. And indeed I am often in want of them. The pleader cannot take one single step, either as plaintiff or defendant, without some benefit arising to me from it; and you will allow that this tribute is very innocent; for no one is yet disgusted of law-suits."

SUFFER me to take breath, vizier, although thy calculation should not be at an end. Thou hast wearied out my admiration, and I know not which circumstance should most excite my astonishment, either

either that perfidious and barbarous science which extends it's influence over every thing, and presses upon every thing; or that patience with which so many repeated acts of subtle tyranny, which spares nothing, are supported. The slave receives his subsistence in exchange for his liberty, while thy wretched contributor is deprived of his liberty by furnishing thee with his subsistence.

BOOK
XIX.

HITHERTO I have so frequently given way to emotions even of indignation, that I have ventured to think I should be excused for indulging myself for once in ridicule and irony, which have so often decided the most important questions. I resume the character that suits me, and I say :

THERE undoubtedly must be a degree of public strength in every government, which shall act both within and without. Without, to defend the body of the nation against the jealousy, the cupidity, the ambition, the contempt, and violence of other nations; and this protection, or the security which should be the effect of it, requires armies, fleets, fortresses, arsenals, feeble allies to be kept in pay, and powerful allies to be seconded. Within, to preserve the citizen attached to the order of society, from the troubles, oppressions, and injuries he may be exposed to from the wicked man, who suffers himself to be led astray by passions, by personal interest, or by his vices, and who is restrained only by the threats of justice, and by the vigilance of the police.

WE shall moreover venture to advance, that it is advantageous to the greater number of citizens, that the strength of the state should encourage industry, stimulate talents, and assist those who, from an inconsiderate zeal, unforeseen misfortunes, or false speculations, have lost their own ability. It is from this principle that we trace the necessity of charity-schools and hospitals.

BOOK
XIX.

IN order to increase the energy of this strength of the state, which, especially in monarchical states seems to be distinct and separate from the nation; I would even consent that the depositary and director of this public strength should impress awe by a parade of dignity, should attract by mildness, and encourage by rewards, since it is his duty to make it be feared, respected, and cherished.

« ALL these means are expensive. Expences suppose revenue, and a revenue implies contributions. It is just, that those who partake of the advantages of the strength of the state should furnish towards it's maintenance. - There is a tacit but sacred agreement between the sovereign and his subjects, by which the former engages to assist, with a degree of that force proportioned to the portion that has been furnished of it, towards the general mass of contributions; and this distributive justice would be executed of itself by the nature of things, if it were not incessantly disturbed by corruption and vice.

BUT in every convention there is a proportion between the price and the value of the thing acquired; and this proportion must necessarily be in the ratio of *minus* on the side of the price, and in that of *plus* on the side of the advantages. I am ready to purchase a sword to defend myself against the thief, but if, in order to acquire this sword, I am obliged to empty my purse or to sell my house, I would rather compound with the thief.

NOW where then is this analogy, this proportion of advantages, derived from the strength of the state; *in favour of a proprietor*, when compared with the price which he pays for them, if among the most civilized nations of Europe, the least exposed to excursions and to foreign attacks, after having ceded a part of his possession he is obliged,
when

When he goes to live in the town, to purchase at an advanced price, for the benefit of this strength of the state, not only the productions of other people, but likewise his own, when he chooses to consume them?

BOOK
XIX.

WHAT is this proportion of advantages for the *husbandman*, if he be compelled, on the one hand, to consume in kind a portion of his time, and of the means of his industry, for the construction and the repairing of the roads; and if he be also obliged to return in money a considerable portion of the productions he hath acquired from the earth by the sweat of his brow and by hard labours?

WHAT is this proportion of advantages for the *mechanic*, who cannot work without food, lodging, clothing, light, and firing; and who cannot supply himself with all these articles without contributing, since these several means of subsistence are taxed; if he be still obliged to return part of the price of his time and of his talents to the impost which falls directly upon the productions of his industry?

WHAT is this proportion of advantages for the *merchant*, who hath already contributed in a variety of ways, both by his personal consumption, by the consumption of his clerks, as well as by the advanced price of the first materials; if he be still obliged to cede a portion of the price of the merchandise which he sends out, and from which he may perhaps receive nothing; in case of some of those numberless accidents, from which this public strength doth not engage either to screen or indemnify him?

WHAT is this proportion of advantage for all *individuals*, if after having contributed in every progression and exertion of our industry to the common mass, on one hand, by an annual and general impost, that of the poll-tax, which hath no connection,

BOOK XIX. tion, no affinity, either with property or with industry, we still contribute, on the other hand, by the salt, a commodity of primary necessity, which is carried to ten times its intrinsic and natural value?

Once again, what proportion of these advantages belongs *to all individuals*, if we see all these quotas, exacted for the maintenance of the strength of the state, wasted among the extortioners who collect them, while the remainder, which, after several expences of circulation, is poured into the king's treasury, where it is pillaged in several different manners or dissipated in extravagance?

We shall also ask, what analogy is there between that strange and complicated variety of contributions, and the advantages which each of us obtains from the strength of the state; if it be true, as certain political calculators pretend, that the sums of those who contribute are equal to those of the revenue of the proprietors?

We can only seek for an answer to this question in the character of the sovereign: If he be cruel; the problem will not be solved; and time, after a long series of oppression will bring about the ruin of the empire. If the sovereign should have any sensibility, the problem will be solved in a manner beneficial to his subjects.

The chief of the nation must not however flatter himself with effecting any great or lasting good, if he does not make a judicious choice of the man intrusted with the maintenance of the strength of the state. It belongs to that great agent of government to distribute and to render supportable to every individual the enormous weight of the tribute by his equity and by his skill, and to divide it according to the relative degrees of ability or non-ability in the contributors. Without these two circumstances, the oppressed people

people will fall into a state of despair more or less distant, more or less alarming. With these two circumstances, supported by the expectation of an immediate or approaching relief, they will suffer with patience, and will proceed under their burden with some share of courage.

BOOK
XIX.

BUT where is the minister who will fulfil so difficult a task? Will it be the minister who, from an odious thirst of wealth, shall have eagerly sought the management of the public revenues; and who having attained that important post by dint of servile intrigue, shall have abandoned the treasury a prey to his passions, his friends, his flatterers, and his favourites, and to the detriment of the strength of the state? Perish the memory of such a minister!

WILL it be he who shall view, in the power committed to his hands, nothing more but the instrument of his enmity, or of his personal aversions; who shall consider nothing but how to realize the illusion of his ferocious and disordered imagination, who will treat all measures differing from his own as absurdities; whose anger will be excited against real or pretended errors, as if they were so many crimes; to whom the fable of the stomach and the members shall be an object of ridicule; who shall enervate that part of the body politic that shall be displeasing to him, by granting almost exclusive favours to that which his fancy, his interest, or his prejudices shall prefer; to whom every thing shall bear the stamp of confusion and disorder, which shall not be consonant to his singular ideas; who, destitute of the wisdom necessary to correct what is defective, shall substitute chimeras to a regular system, perhaps imperfect; and who, in order to correct pretended abuses, blind to the consequences of an ill-suggested plan of reformation,

BOOK
XIX.

will subvert every thing with a disdainful smile; an empiric, who is as cruel as ignorant, who mistaking poison for the remedy, shall announce a speedy cure, when repeated convulsions shall proclaim the impending dissolution of the patient? Perish the memory of such a minister!

SOVEREIGNS, you who are neither exempt from falsehood or seduction, if you have been unfortunate enough to have been directed by such ministers, do not substitute to them a weak and pusillanimous man, who, though well informed, mild, modest, and perhaps incapable of committing any great faults while he acts for himself, will still suffer himself to be misled by others; will fall into the snares that shall be laid for him; and will want that necessary vigour, either to put a stop to, or prevent the evil, or to act in opposition to yourselves when his conscience, and the general interest shall require it.

Do not substitute the morose, disdainful, and austere man; and much less the imperious and harsh minister. The impost is a heavy burden; how, therefore, shall it be supported, if the mode of imposing it be aggravated? It is a bitter cup, which all must swallow; if it be presented hastily, or awkwardly, it will certainly be spilt.

Do not substitute the man who is ignorant of the law, or who despises it, to attend to nothing but finance. It is the interest of a sovereign, that property and industry should be protected, against his own authority, against the enterprises, of his ministers, often inconsiderate, and sometimes dangerous. A minister who sacrifices every thing to finance, will often fill the coffers of his master, he will give to the nation; and to the throne, the splendour of a formidable power; but this splendour will be momentary as lightning. Despair will seize upon

upon the minds of the subjects. By reducing industry to the most extreme distress, the minister will have acted the part of the man in the fable, who killed the hen which brought forth golden eggs. BOOK
XIX.

Do not substitute a villain, armed at all points with the formalities and subtleties of law, who will keep up a perpetual quarrel between the treasury and the law, who will render the former odious, and will relax the bands of a hard but necessary obedience.

Do not substitute that outrageous philanthropist, who giving himself up to an ill-judged spirit of patriotism, shall forget the treasury, while he indiscreetly gives way to the seducing impulse of benevolence and popularity; an impulse ever laudable in a philosopher, but to which a minister ought not to yield without great circumspection. For it must still be acknowledged, that the strength of the state must be established, and that there must be a treasury to maintain it.

But above all things, reject the prodigal minister. How is it possible that a man who hath failed in the management of his own affairs, can administer those of a great state? When he hath dissipated his own estates, will he be economical of the public revenue? Let us suppose him to have probity, delicacy, knowledge, and a sincere desire of being useful to the state, yet in a circumstance, and upon an object so important as that in question, constitutional virtues are only to be trusted to. How many men are there, who have entered virtuous into the ministry, and who, in six months after their promotion, appeared in a very different light to others, and even to themselves. There is, perhaps, less seduction at the foot of the throne, than in the antichamber of a minister; and still less at the foot of the throne, and in the antichambers

BOOK
XIX.

chambers of other ministers, than at the entrance of the closet of the minister of finance. But we have dwelt too long on imposts; we must now speak of what hath been suggested to supply it's place, of public credit.

Public
credit.

In general, what is called credit is only a delay granted for payment. This was a custom unknown in the first ages. Every family was satisfied with what uncultivated nature, and some coarse labours supplied to them. Some exchanges were soon begun, but only between relations and neighbours. These connections were extended in all places, where the progress of society multiplied the wants or the pleasures of men. In process of time, it was no longer possible to purchase provisions of one kind with those of another; metals were substituted, and became insensibly the common representative of all things. It happened, that the agents of trade, which were becoming every day more considerable, wanted the money necessary for their speculations. The merchandise was then delivered, to be paid at periods more or less distant; and this fortunate custom still obtains, and will last for ever.

CREDIT supposes double confidence: confidence in the person who is in want of it, and confidence in his abilities to pay. The first is the most necessary. It is too common for a man in debt, who is destitute of honesty, to break his engagements, though he be able to fulfil them; and to dissipate his fortune by irregularity and extravagance. But the sensible and honest man may, by a variety of schemes well conducted acquire, or replace the means that have failed him for a time.

The mutual advantage of the purchaser and the seller has given rise to the credit which exists among the individuals of one society, or even of several

several societies. It differs from public credit in BOOK
XIX.
this particular, that the latter is the credit of a whole nation, considered as forming one single body.

BETWEEN public and private credit there is also this difference, that profit is the end of the one, and expence of the other. From hence it follows, that credit is gain with respect to the merchant, because it furnishes him with the means of acquiring riches; but with respect to governments, it is one cause of impoverishing them, since it only supplies them with the means of ruining themselves. A state that borrows, alienates a portion of it's revenue for a capital, which it spends. It is therefore poorer after these loans, than it was before it had recourse to this destructive expedient.

NOTWITHSTANDING the scarcity of gold and silver, the ancient governments were unacquainted with public credit, even at the times of the most fatal and critical events. They formed, during peace, a stock that was reserved for times of distress. The specie being by this method circulated afresh, excited industry, and alleviated, in some measure, the inevitable calamities of war. Since the discovery of the New World has made gold and silver more common, those who have had the administration of public affairs have generally engaged in enterprises above the abilities of the people they governed; and have not scrupled to burden posterity with debts they had ventured to contract. This system of oppression has been continued; it will affect the latest generations, and oppress all nations and all ages.

It is England, Holland, and France, that is to say, the most opulent nations of Europe, who have given so bad an example. These powers have found credit, for the same reason that we do not

BOOK XIX. **lend** our money to a man who asks charity, but to him who dazzles us with his brilliant equipage. Confidence hath given birth to loans; and confidence arises of itself at the sight of a country, where the richness of the soil is increased by the activity of an industrious people, and at the view of those celebrated ports, which receive all the productions of the universe.

THE situation of these three states hath also encouraged the lender. They are not only the public revenues that are his guarantee, but also the incomes of individuals, in which the treasury finds, in times of necessity, its support and its resources. In countries which, like Germany, are open on all sides, and which have neither barriers, nor natural means of defence, if the enemy, who can enter into them freely, should either fix, or only sojourn there for a time, they immediately levy the public revenues for their own benefit, and they even appropriate to themselves, by contributions, a portion of the incomes of individuals. The creditors of the government then experience the same thing as happened to those who had annuities in the Austrian Netherlands, and to whom more than thirty years arrears were due. With England, France, and Holland, which are all three somewhat more or less secured from invasion, there is nothing to fear except the causes which exhaust them, the effect of which is slower, and consequently more distant.

BUT should it not be the province of the indigent man to borrow, and of the rich to lend? Wherefore, then, are those states which have the most resources the most in debt? It is because the folly of nations is the same as that of individuals: it is because, being more ambitious, they create to themselves more wants: it is because the confidence they have in their means renders

renders them inattentive to the expences they make: it is because no action at law can be maintained against them; and that their debts are themselves liquidated, whenever they have the effrontery to say, we owe nothing. it is because subjects cannot bring their sovereign to justice: it is because a power hath never been, nor perhaps never will be seen, to take up arms in favour of their citizens, robbed and plundered by a foreign power; it is because a state renders it's neighbours in a manner subject to it by loans; it is because Holland is in constant apprehension, lest the first cannon-shot which should pierce the side of one of her ships should acquit England towards her; it is because an edict dated from Versailles may, without consequences, acquit France to Geneva: it is because these motives, which it would be shameful to acknowledge, act secretly in the breasts and in the councils of powerful kings

THE custom of public credit, though ruinous to every state, is not equally so to all. A nation that has several valuable productions of it's own, whose revenue is entirely free, which hath always fulfilled it's engagements, which hath not been swayed by the ambition of conquests, and which governs it's self; such a nation will raise money at an easier rate, than an empire, the soil of which is not fertile; which is overloaded with debts, which engages in undertakings beyond it's strength, which has deceived it's creditors, and groans beneath an arbitrary power. The lender, who of course imposes the law, will always proportion the terms to the risks he must run. Thus, a people whose finances are in a state of confusion, will soon fall into the utmost distress by public credit: but even the best regulated govern-

B O O Kment will also experience the decline of it's prosperity from it.

BUT some political arithmeticians have asserted, that it is advantageous to invite the specie of other nations into that of our own country, and that public loans produce that important effect. It is certain, that it is a method of attracting the specie of other nations; but merely, as if it were obtained by the sale of one or more provinces of the empire. Perhaps, it would be a more rational practice to deliver up the soil to them, than to cultivate it solely for their use.

BUT if the state borrowed only of it's own subjects, the national revenue would not be given up to foreigners. It certainly would not: but the state would impoverish some of it's members, in order to enrich one individual. Must not taxes be increased in proportion to the interest that is to be paid, and the capital that is to be replaced? Will not the proprietors of lands, the husbandmen, and every citizen, find the burden greater, than if all the money borrowed by the state had been demanded from them at once? Their situation is the same, as if they themselves had borrowed it, instead of retrenching from their ordinary expences, as much as might enable them to supply an accidental charge.

BUT the paper-currency which is introduced by the loans made to government, increases the quantity of wealth in circulation, gives a great extension to trade, and facilitates every commercial transaction. Infatuated men! reflect on the dangerous consequences of your political system. Extend it only as far as possible; let the state borrow all it can; load it with interest to be paid; and by these means reduce it to the necessity of straining every tax to the utmost; ye will soon find, that with all the wealth you may have in circulation,

circulation, ye will have no fresh supply for the purposes of consumption and trade. Money, and the paper which represents it, do not circulate of themselves; nor without the assistance of those powers which set them in motion. All the different signs introduced in lieu of coin, acquire a value only proportionate to the number of sales and purchases that are made. Let us agree with you, in supposing all Europe filled with gold. If it should have no merchandise to trade with, that gold will have no circulation. Let us only increase commercial effects, and take no concern about these representations of wealth; mutual confidence and necessity will soon occasion them to be established without your assistance. But let your care be principally directed in preventing their increase, by such means as must necessarily diminish the mass of your growing produce.

BUT the custom of public credit enables one power to give the law to others. Will it never be perceived that this resource is common to all nations? If it be a general mode by which a state may obtain a superiority over it's enemies, may it not be serviceable to them for the same purposes? Will not the credit of the two nations be in proportion to their respective wealth? and will they not be ruined without having any other advantages over one another, than those they were in possession of, independent of every loan? When I see monarchs and empires furiously attacking and waging war, against each other, with all their debts, with their public funds, and their revenue already deeply mortgaged, it seems to me, says a philosophical writer, as if I saw men fighting with clubs in a potter's shop surrounded with porcelain.

BOOK

XIX

It would, perhaps, be presumptuous to affirm, that in no circumstance whatsoever the public service can ever require an alienation of part of the public revenues. The scenes that disturb the world are so various, empires are exposed to such extraordinary revolutions, the field of events is so extensive, political interests occasion such amazing changes in public affairs, that it is not within the reach of human wisdom to foresee and calculate every circumstance. But in this instance, it is the ordinary conduct of governments that we are attending to, and not an extraordinary situation, which, in all probability, may never present itself.

Every state which will not be diverted from the ruinous course of loans, by such considerations as we have just been offering, will be the cause of its own destruction. The facility of acquiring large sums of money at once, will engage a government in every kind of unreasonable, rash, and expensive undertaking, will make it mortgage its future expectations, for present exigencies, and game with the present stock to acquire future supplies. One loan will bring on another, and to accelerate the last, the interest will be more and more raised.

This irregularity will cause the fruits of industry to pass into some idle hands. The facility of obtaining every enjoyment without labour, will induce every person of fortune, as well as all vicious and intriguing men, to resort to the capital, who will bring with them a train of servants, borrowed from the plough, of young girls, deprived of their innocence and prevented from marrying, of persons of both sexes, devoted to luxury all of them the instruments, the victims, the objects, or the sport of indolence and voluptuousness.

THE

THE seducing attraction of public debts will spread more and more. When men can reap the fruits of the earth without labour, every individual will engage in that species of employment which is at once lucrative and easy. Proprietors of land, and merchants, will all become annuitants. Money is converted into paper currency, established by the state, because it is more portable than specie; less subject to alteration from time, and less liable to the injury of seasons, and the rapacity of the farmers of the revenue. The preference given to the representative paper, above the real specie or commodity, will be injurious to agriculture, trade, and industry. As the state always expends what has been wrongfully acquired in an improper manner, in proportion as it's debts increase, the taxes must be augmented in order to pay the interest. Thus all the active and useful classes of society are plundered and exhausted by the idle, useless class of annuitants. The increase of taxes raises the price of commodities, and consequently that of industry. By these means consumption is lessened; because exportation ceases, as soon as merchandise is too dear to stand the competition of other nations. The lands and manufactures are equally affected.

THE inability the state then finds itself in to answer it's engagements, forces it to extricate itself by bankruptcy, a method the most destructive of the freedom of the people, and of the power of the sovereign. Then the decrees for loans are paid by edicts of reduction. Then the oaths of the monarch, and the rights of the subjects, will be betrayed. Then the surest basis of all governments, public confidence, will be irrecoverably lost. Then the fortune of the rich man is overthrown, and the poor man is deprived of the fruits

BOOK
XIX

fruits of his long continued labours, which he had intrusted to the treasury, in order to secure a subsistence in his old age. Then the labour and the salaries are suspended, and the multitude of laborious persons fall into a kind of palsy, and are reduced to beggary. Then the manufactures are empty, and the hospitals are filled, as they are in times of a pestilence. Then the minds of all men are exasperated against the prince, while his agents are every where loaded with imprecations. Then the feeble man, who can submit to lead a life of misery, is condemned to tears, while he to whom nature has given an impatient and stronger mind, arms himself with a dagger, which he turns either against himself, or against his fellow citizen. Then the spirit, the manners, and the health of the inhabitants of the nation are destroyed; the spirit, by depression and affliction, the manners, by the necessity of having recourse to resources which are always criminal or dishonest, health, by the same consequences which would follow a sudden famine. Sovereign ministers, is it possible that the image of such calamity should be presented to you, without disturbing your tranquillity, or exciting your remorse? If there be a great Judge who waits for you, how will you dare to appear before him, and what sentence can you possibly expect from him? Doubt not but that it will be the same as that which those wretches whom you have made, and whose sole avenger he was, shall have called down upon you. Accursed in this world, you will still be so in the next.

SUCH is the end of loans, from whence we may judge of the principles upon which they are founded.

its
elles
L AFTER having examined the springs and support of every civilized society, let us take a view of
of

f the ornaments and decorations of the edifice BOOK
XIX
These are the fine arts, and polite literature

NATURE is the model of both the one and the other To study nature, and to study her with propriety, to select her best appearances, to copy her faithfully, to correct her defects, and to embellish or collect her scattered beauties, in order to compose of them one marvellous object these are so many talents infinitely rare Some of them may accompany the man of genius, others may be the result of study, and of the labours of several great men Sublimity of thought, and expression, may prevail, where there is a want of taste Imagination and invention may display it's powers in a man who is impetuous and incorrect Ages pass away, before there appears an orator, a poet, a painter, or a statuary, in whom judgment, which reflects upon it's operations, moderates that ardour which is impatient of advancing in it's career

It is chiefly utility which hath given birth to literature, while the fine arts have owed their origin to the allurements of pleasure

IN Greece they were the offspring of the soil itself The Greeks, favoured with the most fortunate climate, had a scene of nature incessantly before them, replete with wonderful objects of delight or of horror, rapid streams, craggy mountains, ancient forests, fertile plains, agreeable vallies, and delightful slopes, the sea sometimes calm and sometimes agitated; every thing, in a word, which infuses ardour into the soul, every thing which awakens sensibility and extends the imagination These people, being scrupulous imitators, copied nature at first, such as they saw her They soon adapted a spirit of discrimination to their models Attention to the principal functions of the limbs pointed out to them their grossest

B O O K
XIX.

grosslest defects which they corrected. They afterwards discovered the more trifling imperfections of a figure which they likewise altered; and thus they raised themselves gradually to the conception of ideal beauty, that is to the conception of a being, the existence of which is perhaps possible though not real, for nature makes nothing perfect. Nothing is regular in it, and yet nothing is out of it's place. There are too many causes combined at once in the creation, not merely of an entire animal, but even of the smallest similar parts of an animal, that we should expect to find exact symmetry in them. The beautiful of nature consists in a precise series of imperfections. The whole may be censured, but in that whole every part is precisely what it should be. The attentive consideration of a flower, of the branch of a tree, or of a leaf, are sufficient to confirm this opinion.

It was by this slow and laborious mode that painting and sculpture acquired that degree of perfection which astonishes us, in the Gladiator, the Antinous, and Venus of Medicis. To these fortunate causes may be added a language harmonious from it's origin; a poetry sublime and full of agreeable as well as terrible images, previous to the birth of the arts; the spirit of liberty, the exercise of the fine arts, forbidden to slaves; the intercourse of artists with philosophers; their emulation kept up by labours, rewards, and encomiums; the continual view of the human frame in baths and in the Gymnasia, which is a continual lesson for the artist, and the principle of refined taste in the nation. The large and flowing garments which did not deform any part of the body by pressing and confining it; numberless temples to decorate the statues of the Gods and Goddesses, and consequently the inestimable value set on beauty,

ty, which was to serve as the model; and the custom of consecrating, by monuments, the memorable actions of great men. BOOK
XIX.

HOMER had set the example of epic poetry. The Olympic games hastened the progress of lyric poetry, of music, and of tragedy. The concatenation of the arts, one with the other, exerted it's influence on architecture. Eloquence assumed dignity and vigour, while it was discussing the public interests.

THE Romans, who copied the Greeks in every thing, were inferior to their models, having neither the same gracefulness nor the same originality. In such of their works as were really beautiful, the efforts of an able copyist were frequently observed, a circumstance which was almost unavoidable. If the masterpieces which they had perpetually before them had been destroyed, their genius left to it's own powers and it's natural energy, after some trials and, after some deviations, would have soared to a very high degree of perfection, and their works would have had that character of truth which they could not possess, when executed partly from nature and partly from the productions of a school, the spirit of which was unknown to them. These originals were to them as were the works of the Creator: they were ignorant of the manner in which they were produced.

A RIGID taste, however, presided over all the performances of the Romans. It guided equally their artists and their writers. Their works were either the image or the copy of truth. The genius of invention, and that of execution, never infringed the proper limits. In the midst of profusion and magnificence the graces were distributed with a prudent hand. Every thing that went beyond the beautiful was skilfully retrenched.

B O O K
XIX.

THE experience of all nations and of all ages demonstrates, that whatever hath attained to perfection is not long before it degenerates. The revolution is more or less rapid, but always infallible. Among the Romans it was the work of a few ambitious writers, who despairing to excel, or even equal their predecessors, contrived to open to themselves a new career. To plans closely arranged, to ideas luminous and profound, to images full of dignity, to phrases of great energy, and to expressions suited to every subject, were substituted the spirit of wit, analogies more singular than precise, a continual contrast of words or ideas, a broken and loose style, more striking than natural; in a word, all the faults that are produced from an habitual desire of being brilliant and of pleasing. The arts were drawn into the same vortex; they were carried to excess, too much refined and affected as eloquence and poetry were. All the productions of genius bore the same mark of degradation.

THEY emerged from this but only to fall into one still more fatal. The first men to whom it was given to cultivate the arts, intended to make impressions that should be lively and durable. In order to attain their end with greater certainty, they thought it necessary to enlarge every object. This mistake, which was a necessary consequence of their want of experience, led them to exaggeration. What had been done in the first instance from ignorance, was afterwards revived from flattery. The emperors who had raised an unlimited power upon the ruins of Roman liberty, would no longer be mere mortals. To gratify this extravagant pride, it was necessary to bestow upon them the attributes of the divinity. Their images, their statues, and their palaces no longer appeared in their true proportions, but all of them

them assumed a colossal magnitude. The nations prostrated themselves before these idols, and incense was burnt upon their altars. The people and the artists seduced the poets, the orators, and the historians, whose person would have been exposed to insult, and whose writings, would have appeared satirical had they confined themselves within the boundaries of truth, taste, and decency.

SUCH was the deplorable state of the arts and of letters in the south of Europe, when some barbarous hords pouring from the northern regions, annihilated what had been only corrupted. These people, after having covered the country places with human bones, and after having strewed the provinces with dead bodies, attacked the towns with that fury which was natural to them. They totally demolished several of those superb cities, in which were collected all the most perfect productions of the industry and genius of man in books, pictures, and statues. Such of those precious monuments as had neither been destroyed nor burnt, were either mutilated or devoted to the meanest uses. The little that had escaped the devastation was obscurely buried under heaps of ruins and ashes. Even Rome herself, so often pillaged by ferocious robbers, was at length become their residence. This mistress of nations, so long the terror and the admiration of the universe, was no more than an object of contempt and pity. In the midst of the ruins of the empire, a few unfortunate persons, who had escaped the ravages of the sword or of famine, dragged on a disgraceful existence, the slaves of those savages, to whose name even they were strangers, or whom they had enslaved or trampled under foot.

HISTORY has preserved the memory of several warlike people, who, after having subdued enlightened

BOOK

XIX.

lightened nations had adopted their customs, their laws, and their knowledge. At the too fatal period which we are now describing, they were the vanquished who basely assimilated themselves to their barbarous conquerors. The reason of this is, that those mean persons who submitted to the foreign yoke, had lost a great deal of the knowledge and of the taste of their ancestors; and that the small remains of them they had preserved were not sufficient to enlighten a conqueror plunged in the grossest ignorance, and who, from the facility of their conquests, had accustomed themselves to consider the arts as a frivolous occupation and as the instrument of servitude.

BEFORE this age of darkness, Christianity had destroyed in Europe the idols of Pagan antiquity, and had only preserved some of the arts to assist the power of persuasion, and to favour the preaching of the gospel. Instead of a religion embellished with the gay divinities of Greece and Rome, it had substituted monuments of terror and gloominess, suited to the tragic events which signalized its birth and its progress. The Gothic ages have left us some monuments, the boldness and majesty of which still strike the eye amidst the ruins of taste and elegance. All their temples were built in the shape of the cross, which was also placed on the top of them, and they were filled with crucifixes and decorated with horrid and gloomy images, with scaffolds, tortures, martyrs, and executioners.

WHAT then became of the arts, condemned as they were to terrify the imagination by continual spectacles of blood, death, and future punishments? They became as hideous as the models they were formed upon; ferocious as the princes and pontiffs that made use of them, mean and base as those who worshipped the productions of

of them, they frightened children from their very ^{B O O K} cradles, they aggravated the horrors of the grave ^{XIX} by an eternal perspective of terrible shades, they spread melancholy over the whole face of the earth

At length the period arrived for lessening those scaffoldings of religion and social policy, and this was accomplished by the inhabitants of Greece

THIS country is at present barbarous to a great degree. It groans under the yoke of slavery and ignorance. Its climate and some ruins are all it preserves. There is no vestige left of urbanity, emulation, or industry. There are no more enterprises for the public good, no more objects for the productions of genius, no more enthusiasm for the restoration of arts, no more zeal for the recovery of liberty. The glory of Themistocles and of Alcibiades, the talents of Sophocles and Demosthenes, the learning of Lycurgus and of Plato, the policy of Pisistratus and of Pericles, and the labours of Phidias and of Apelles, are all forgotten, every thing hath been destroyed, and a profound darkness covers the region, formerly so productive of miraculous events.

THE slaves who walk over the ruins of statues, columns, palaces, temples, and amphitheatres, and who blindly trample so many riches under foot, have lost even the remembrance of the great exploits of which their country was the scene. They have even disfigured the names of the towns and the provinces. They are astonished that the desire of acquiring knowledge should attract into their country learned men and artists. Become insensible to the invaluable remains of their annihilated splendour, they would wish that the same spirit of indifference should be diffused over the whole world. To be allowed to visit this interesting spot it is necessary to be at great expences, to run great

BOOK XIX risks, and beside this, to obtain the protection of government

THESE people, though during ten or twelve centuries, the interior part of their empire was the prey of civil, religious, and scholastic wars, and though exposed from without to bloody combats, destructive invasions, and continual losses, still preserved some taste and some knowledge, when the disciples of Mohammed, who, armed with the sword and the coran, had subdued with rapidity all the parts of so vast a dominion, seized upon the capital itself.

AT this period the fine arts returned with literature from Greece into Italy by the Mediterranean, which maintained the commerce between Asia and Europe. The Huns, under the name of Goths, had driven them from Rome to Constantinople, and the very same people, under the name of Turks, expelled them again from Constantinople to Rome. That city, destined as it was to rule by force or by stratagem, cultivated and revived the arts, which had been a long time buried in oblivion.

WALLS, columns, statues, and vases, were drawn forth from the dust of ages, and from the ruins of Italy, to serve as models of the fine arts at their revival. The genius which presides over design raised three of the arts at once, I mean architecture, sculpture, and painting. Architecture, in which convenience itself regulated those proportions of symmetry that contribute to give pleasure to the eye, sculpture, which flatters princes, and is the reward of great men, and painting, which perpetuates the remembrance of noble actions, and the examples of mutual tenderness. Italy alone had more superb cities, more magnificent edifices, than all the rest of Europe. Rome, Florence, and Venice gave rise

to three schools of original painters: so much does genius depend upon the imagination, and imagination upon the climate. Had Italy possessed the treasures of Mexico, and the productions of Asia, how much more would the arts have been enriched by the discovery of the East and West Indies

THAT country, of old so fruitful in heroes, and since in artists, beheld literature, which is the inseparable companion of the arts, flourish a second time. It had been overwhelmed by the barbarism of a latinity corrupted and disfigured by religious enthusiasm! A mixture of Egyptian theology, Grecian philosophy, and Hebrew poetry; such was the Latin language in the mouths of Monks, who chanted all night, and taught by day things and words they did not understand.

THE mythology of the Romans revived in literature the graces of antiquity. The spirit of imitation borrowed them at first indiscriminately. Custom introduced taste in the choice of those rich treasures. The Italian genius, too fertile not to invent, blended it's enthusiasm and caprice with the rules and examples of it's old masters, and joined even the fictions of fairy land with those of fable. The works of imagination partook of the manners of the age and of the national character. Petrarch had drawn that celestial virgin, beauty, which served as a model for the heroines of chivalry. Armida was the emblem of the coquetry which reigned in her time in Italy. Ariosto confounded every species of poetry, in a work, which may rather be called the labyrinth of poetry, than a regular poem. That author will stand alone in the history of literature, like the enchanted palaces of his own construction in the deserts.

BOOK
XIX.

LETTERS and arts, after crossing the sea, passed the Alps. In the same manner as the Crusades had brought the oriental romances into Italy, the wars of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. introduced into France some principles of good literature. Francis I., if he had not been into Italy in order to contend for the Milanese with Charles V. would never, perhaps, have been ambitious of the title of *the Father of letters*: but these seeds of knowledge and improvement in the arts were lost in the religious wars. They were recovered again, if I may be allowed the expression, in scenes of war and destruction; and the time came when they were again to revive and flourish. Italy was as much distinguished in the 16th century, as France was in the succeeding one, which by the victories of Lewis XIV. or rather by the genius of the great men that flourished together under his reign, deserves to make an epocha in the history of the fine arts.

IN France all the efforts of the human mind were at once exerted in producing works of genius, as they had before been in Italy. It's powers were displayed in the marble, and on the canvas, in public edifices and gardens, as well as in eloquence and poetry. Every thing was submitted to it's influence, not only the arts of ingenuity, which are mechanical, and require manual labour, but those also which depend solely on the mind. Every thing bore the stamp of genius. The colours displayed in natural objects enlivened the works of imagination; and the human passions animated the designs of the pencil. Man gave spirit to matter, and body to spirit. But it deserves to be particularly observed that this happened at a time when a passion for glory animated a nation, great and powerful by it's situation, and the extent of it's empire. The sense of honour

nour which raised it in it's own estimation, and which then distinguished it in the eyes of all Europe, was it's soul, it's instinct, and supplied the place of that liberty which had formerly given rise to the arts of genius in the republics of Athens and of Rome, which had revived them in that of Florence, and compelled them to flourish on the bleak and cloudy borders of the Thames

WHAT would not genius have effected in France, had it been under the influence of laws only, when it's exertions were so great under the dominion of the most absolute of kings? When we see what energy patriotism has given to the English, in spite of the inactivity of their climate, we may judge what it might have produced among the French, where a most mild temperature of season leads a people, naturally sensible and lively, to invention and enjoyment. We may conceive what it's effects would have been in a country, where, as in ancient Greece, are to be found men of active and lively genius, fitted for invention, from being warmed by the most powerful and enlivening rays of the sun, where there are men strong and robust in a climate, in which even the cold excites to labour, in which we meet with temperate provinces between north and south, sea ports together with navigable rivers, vast plains abounding in corn, hills loaded with vineyards and fruits of all sorts, salt pits which may be increased at pleasure, pastures co-
 ———— mountains clothed with trees

BOOK XIX the flocks of Arcadia With all these advantages, which Greece once possessed, France might have carried the fine arts to as great a height as that parent of genius, had she been subject to the same laws, and given a scope to the same exercise of reason and liberty, by which great men, and the rulers of powerful nations, are produced

NEXT to the superiority of legislation among modern nations, to raise them to an equality with the ancients in works of genius, there has, perhaps, been wanting only an improvement in language The Romans, who, like the Greeks, knew the influence of dialect over the manners, had endeavoured to extend their language with their arms, and they had succeeded in causing it to be adopted in all places where they had established their dominion Almost all Europe spoke Latin, except only a few obscure men, who had taken refuge among inaccessible mountains but the invasion of the barbarians soon changed the nature of this language With the harmonious sounds of an idiom polished by genius and by delicate organs, these people, who were warriors and hunters, blended the rude accents, and the coarse expressions they brought along with them from their gloomy forests, and severe climate There were soon as many different languages as forms of governments At the revival of letters, these languages must naturally have acquired a more sublime and a more agreeable pronunciation This improvement took place but very slowly, because all those who had any talents for writing, disdaining a language destitute of graces, strength, and amenity, employed in their performances, with greater or less propriety, the language of the ancient Romans

THE Italians were the first who shook off this BOOK XIX.
humiliating yoke. Their language, with harmony, accent, and quantity, is peculiarly adapted to express all the images of poetry, and convey all the delightful impressions of music. These two arts have consecrated this language to the harmony of sound, it being the most proper to express it.

THE French language holds the superiority in prose; if it be not the language of the Gods, it is, at least, that of reason and of truth. Prose is peculiarly adapted to convince the understanding in philosophical researches. It enlightens the minds of those whom nature has blessed with superior talents, who seem placed between princes and their subjects to instruct and direct mankind. At a period when liberty has no longer her tribunes, nor amphitheatres to excite commotions in vast assemblies of the people, a language which spreads itself in books, which is read in all countries, which serves as the common interpreter of all other languages, and as the vehicle of all sorts of ideas; a language ennobled, refined, softened, and above all, settled by the genius of writers, and the polish of courts, becomes at length universally prevailing.

THE English language has likewise had it's poets and it's prose-writers, who have gained it the character of energy and boldness, sufficient to render it immortal. May it be learned among all nations who aspire not to be slaves! They will dare to think, act, and govern themselves. It is not the language of words, but of ideas; and the English have none but such as are strong and forcible; they are the first who ever made use of the expression, *the majesty of the people*, and that alone is sufficient to consecrate a language.

THE

BOOK

XIX.

Greek language indelible. Harmony and reason have placed the eloquence of Cicero above all the sacred orators. The pontiffs themselves, polished and enlightened by the information and attractive influence of the arts, by being admirers and protectors of them, have assisted the human mind to break the chains of superstition. Commerce has hastened the progress of art by means of the luxury which wealth has diffused. All the efforts of the mind and the exertions of manual labour have been united to embellish, and to improve the condition of the human species. Industry and invention, together with the enjoyments procured by the New World, have penetrated as far as the polar circle, and the fine arts are attempting to rise superior to the obstacles of nature even at Petersburg.

ORATORS, poets, historians, painters, and statuary, are made to be the friends of great men. Heralds of their fame during their life, they are the eternal preservers of it, when they no longer exist. In rendering their names immortal, they immortalize themselves. It is by these several orders of men, that the nations distinguish themselves among contemporary nations. The arts, after having rendered them illustrious, also restore wealth to them, when they are become indigent. It is ancient Rome which at present subsists modern Rome. Let the people whom they honour, both at the present and at future times, if they be not ungrateful, honour them in their turn. Ye nations, you will pass away, but their productions will remain. The torch of genius, which enlightens you, will be extinguished if you neglect it, and after having walked in darkness for some ages, you will fall in the abyss of oblivion, which hath swallowed up so many nations that have preceded you, not be-
cause

cause they have been destitute of virtues, but of a sacred voice to celebrate them. BOOK
XIX.

BEWARE especially of adding persecution to indifference. It is certainly enough for a writer to brave the resentment of the intolerant magistrate, of the fanatic spirit, of the suspicious nobleman, and of all ranks of men proud of their prerogatives, without being also exposed to the severities of government. To inflict upon a philosopher an infamous or capital punishment, is to condemn him to pusillanimity or to silence: it is to stifle or to banish genius; it is to put a stop to national information, and to the progress of knowledge.

It will be said, that these reflections are those of a man who is thoroughly determined to speak without circumspection of persons and things; of persons, whom one scarce dares to address with frankness; of things, concerning which a writer endowed with a little share of sense, neither thinks nor expresses himself as the vulgar; and who yet would wish to escape proscription. This may possibly be the case, and wherefore should it not be? Nevertheless, whatever may happen, I will never betray the honourable cause of liberty. If I experience nothing but misfortunes from it, which I neither expect nor dread, so much the worse for the author of those misfortunes. He will be detested during life, for one instant of my existence which he shall have disposed of with injustice and violence. His name will be handed down to future ages branded with ignominy; and this cruel sentence would be independent of the small value, or of the little merit of my writings.

To the train of letters and fine arts philosophy is annexed, which one would imagine ought rather to direct them: but appearing later than they did, can only be considered as their attendant.

Arts

B O O K Arts arise from the very necessities of mankind in
XIX. the earliest state of the human mind. Letters are
 the flowers of it's youth; children of the imagination, being themselves fond of ornament, they decorate every thing they approach; and this turn for embellishment produces what are properly called the fine arts, or the arts of luxury and elegance, which give the polish to the primary arts of necessity. It is then we see the winged genii of sculpture fluttering over the porticos of architecture; and the genii of painting entering palaces, representing the heavens upon a cieling, sketching out upon wool and silk all the animated scenes of rural life, and tracing to the mind upon canvas the useful truths of history, as well as the agreeable chimeras of fable.

WHEN the mind has been employed on the pleasures of the imagination and of the senses, when governments have arrived to a degree of maturity, reason arises and bestows on the nations a certain turn for reflection; this is the age of philosophy. She advances with gradual steps, and proceeds silently along, announcing the decline of empires which she attempts in vain to support. She closed the latter ages of the celebrated republics of Greece and Rome. Athens had no philosophers till the eve of her ruin, which they seemed to foretell; Cicero and Lucretius did not compose their writings on the nature of the gods, and the system of the world, till the confusion of the civil wars arose, and hastened the destruction of liberty.

THALES, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, had however laid the foundations of natural philosophy in the theories of the elements of matter; but the rage of forming systems successively subverted these several principles. Socrates then appeared, who brought back philosophy to the principles of true wisdom and virtue: it was
 that

that alone he loved, practised, and taught; persuaded that morality and not science was conducive to the happiness of man. Plato, his disciple, though a natural philosopher, and instructed in the mysteries of nature by his travels into Egypt, ascribed every thing to the soul, and scarce any thing to nature; he confounded philosophy with theological speculations, and the knowledge of the universe with the ideas of the divinity. Aristotle, the disciple of Plato, turned his inquiries less on the nature of the Deity, than on that of man and of animals. His natural history has been transmitted to posterity, though it was holden only in moderate estimation by his contemporaries. Epicurus, who lived nearly about the same period, revived the atoms of Democritus, a system, which doubtless balanced that of the four elements of Aristotle; and as these were the two prevailing systems at that time, no improvements were made in natural philosophy. The moral philosophers engaged the attention of the people, who understood their system better than that of the natural philosopher. They established schools; for as soon as opinions gain a degree of reputation, parties are immediately formed to support them.

In these circumstances, Greece, agitated by interior commotions, after having been torn with an intestine war, was subdued by Macedonia, and its government dissolved by the Romans. Then public calamities turned the hearts and understandings of men to morality. Zeno and Democritus, who had been only natural philosophers, became, a considerable time after their death, the heads of two sects of moral philosophers, more addicted to theology than physics, rather casuists than philosophers; or it might rather be affirmed, that philosophy was given up and confined entirely to the sophists. The Romans, who had bor-

B O O K **XIX** rowed every thing from the Greeks, made no discoveries in the true system of philosophy. Among the ancients it made little progress, because it was entirely confined to morality. among the moderns it's first steps have been more fortunate, because they have been guided by the light of natural knowledge.

We must not reckon the interval of near a thousand years, during which period philosophy, science, arts, and letters, were buried in the ruins of the Roman empire, among the ashes of ancient Italy, and the dust of the cloysters. In Asia their monuments were still preserved though not attended to, and in Europe some fragments of them remained which she did not know. The world was divided into Christian and Mohammedan, and every where covered with the blood of nations. Ignorance alone triumphed under the standard of the cross or the crescent. Before these dreaded signs, every knee was bent, every spirit trembled.

PHILOSOPHY continued in a state of infancy, pronouncing only the names of God and of the soul. her attention was solely engaged on matters of which she would for ever have remained ignorant. Time, argument, and all her application was wasted on questions that were, at least, idle, questions, for the most part, void of sense, not to be defined and not to be determined from the nature of their object, and which, therefore, proved an eternal source of disputes, schisms, sects, hatred, persecution, and national as well as religious wars.

In the mean time, the Arabs, after their conquests, carried away, as it were in triumph, the spoils of genius and philosophy. Aristotle fell into their hands, preserved from the ruins of ancient Greece. These destroyers of empires had some sciences of which they had been the inventors, among which arithmetic is to be numbered. By the

the knowledge of astronomy and geometry they discovered the coasts of Africa, which they laid waste and peopled again, and they were always great proficient in medicine. That science, which has, perhaps, no greater recommendation in it's favour, than it's affinity with chymistry and natural knowledge, rendered them as celebrated as astrology, which is another support of empirical imposition. Avicenna and Averroes, who were equally skilled in physic, mathematics, and philosophy, preserved the tradition of true science by translations and commentaries. But let us imagine what must become of Aristotle, translated from Greek into Arabic, and after that, from Arabic into Latin, under the hands of monks, who wanted to adapt the philosophy of paganism to the systems of Moies and Christ. This confusion of opinions, ideas, and language, stopped for a considerable time the progress of science, and the reducing of it into a regular system. The divine overturned the materials brought by the philosopher, who sapped the very foundations laid by his rival. However, with a few stones from one, and much sand from the other, some wretched architects raised a strange Gothic monument, called the philosophy of the schools. Continually amended, renewed, and supported, from age to age, by Irish or Spanish metaphysicians, it maintained itself till about the time of the discovery of the New World, which was destined to change the face of the Old one.

LIGHT sprang from the midst of darkness. An English monk applied himself to the practice of chymistry, and paving the way for the invention of gun powder, which was to bring America into subjection to Europe, opened the avenues of true science by experimental philosophy. Thus philosophy issued out of the cloyster, where ignorance remained. When Boccacio had exposed the debauched

BOOK XIX. {bauched lives of the regular and secular clergy, Galileo ventured to form conjectures upon the figure of the earth. Superstition was alarmed at it, and it's clamours as well as it's menaces were heard: but philosophy tore off the mask from the monster, and rent the veil under which truth had been hidden. The weakness and falsehood of popular opinions was perceived, on which society was then founded; but in order to put an effectual stop to error, it was necessary to be acquainted with the laws of nature, and the causes of her various phænomena: and that was the object philosophy had in view.

As soon as Copernicus was dead, after he had, by the power of reason, conjectured that the sun was in the center of our world, Galileo arose, and confirmed, by the invention of the telescope, the true system of astronomy, which either had been unknown, or lay in oblivion ever since Pythagoras had conceived it. While Gassendi was reviving the elements of ancient philosophy, or the atoms of Epicurus, Descartes imagined and combined the elements of a new philosophy, or his ingenious and subtle vortexes. Almost about the same time, Toricelli invented, at Florence, the barometer, to determine the weight of the air; Pascal measured the height of the mountains of Auvergne; and Boyle, in England, verified and confirmed the various experiments of both.

DESCARTES had taught the art of doubting, in order to undeceive the mind previous to instruction. The method of doubting proposed by him was the grand instrument of science, and the most signal service that could be rendered to the human mind under the darkness which surrounded, and the chains which fettered it. Boyle, by applying that method to opinions the best authorized by the sanction of time and power, has made us sensible of it's importance.

CHANCELLOR Bacon, a philosopher, but unsuccessful at court, as friar Bacon had been in the cloyster, like him the harbinger rather than the establisher of the new philosophy, had protested equally against the prejudice of the senses and the schools, as against those phantoms he styled the idols of the understanding. He had foretold truths he could not discover. In conformity to the result of his reasoning, which might be considered as oracular, while experimental philosophy was discovering facts, rational philosophy was in search of causes. Both contributed to the study of mathematics, which were to guide the efforts of the mind, and insure their success. It was, in fact, the science of algebra applied to geometry, and the application of geometry to natural philosophy, which made Newton conjecture the true system of the world. Upon taking a view of the heavens, he perceived in the fall of bodies to the earth, and in the motions of the heavenly bodies, a certain analogy which implied an universal principle, differing from impulse, the only visible cause of all their movements. From the study of astronomy he next applied himself to that of optics, and this led him to conjecture the origin of light, and the experiments which he made in consequence of this inquiry, reduced it into a system.

At the time when Descartes died, Newton and Leibnitz were but just born, who were to finish, correct, and bring to perfection what he had begun, that is to say, the establishing of sound philosophy. These two men alone greatly contributed to it's quick and rapid progress. One carried the knowledge of God and the soul as far as reason could lead it, and the unsuccessfulness of his attempts undecieved the human mind for ever with respect to such false systems of metaphysics. The other extended the principles of natural philosophy and

BOOK
XIX.

and the mathematics much further than the genius of many ages had been able to carry them, and pointed out the road to truth. At the same time Locke, preceded by Hobbes, a man on whom nature had bestowed an uncommon understanding, and who had remained obscure from the very boldness of his principles, which ought to have had a contrary effect, Locke, I say, attacked scientific prejudices, even into the intrenchments of the schools: he dissipated all those phantoms of the imagination, which Malebranche suffered to spring up again, after he had pointed out their absurdity, because he did not attack the foundation on which they were supported.

BUT we are not to suppose that philosophers alone have discovered and imagined every thing. It is the course of events which has given a certain tendency, to the actions and thoughts of mankind. A complication of natural or moral causes, a gradual improvement in politics, joined to the progress of study and of the sciences, a combination of circumstances which it was as impossible to hasten as to foresee, must have contributed to the revolution that has prevailed in the understandings of men. Among nations, as among individuals, the body and soul act and re-act alternately upon each other. Popular opinions infect even philosophers, and philosophers are guides to the people. Galileo had asserted, that as the earth turned round the sun, there must be Antipodes; and Drake proved the fact, by a voyage round the world. The church styled itself universal, and the pope called himself master of the earth: and yet, more than two thirds of it's inhabitants did not so much as know there was any Catholic religion, and particularly that there was a pope. Europeans, who have travelled and trafficked every where, taught Europe that one portion of the globe adopted the
visionary

visionary opinions of Mohammed, and a still larger one lived in the darkness of idolatry, or in the total ignorance and unenlightened state of atheism. Thus philosophy extended the empire of human knowledge, by the discovery of the errors of superstition, and of the truths of nature.

ITALY, whose impatient genius penetrated through the obstacles that surrounded it, was the first that founded an academy of natural philosophy. France and England, who were to aggrandize themselves even by their competition, raised at one time two everlasting monuments to the improvement of philosophy: two academies, from whence all the learned men of Europe derive their information, and in which they deposit all their stores of knowledge. From hence have been brought to light a great number of the mysterious points in nature; experiments, phenomena, discoveries in the arts and sciences, the secrets of electricity, and the causes of the Aurora Borealis. Hence have proceeded the instruments and means of purifying air on board of ships, for making sea-water fit to be drunk; for determining the figure of the earth, and ascertaining the longitudes; for improving agriculture, and for producing more grain, with less seed, and less labour.

ARISTOTLE had reigned ten centuries in all the schools of Europe; and the Christians, after losing the guidance of reason, were able to recover it again only by following his footsteps. Their implicit attachment to that philosopher had, for a considerable time, caused them to err, in blindly following him through the darkness of theological doctrines. But at length Descartes pointed out the way, and Newton supplied the power of extricating them out of that labyrinth. Doubt had dissipated prejudices, and the method of ana-

B O O K { XIX } lyſis had found out the truth. After the two Bacons, Galileo, Descartes, Hobbes, Locke, and Bayle, Leibnitz and Newton, after the memoirs of the academies of Florence and Leipzig, of Paris and London, there ſtill remained a great work to be compoſed, in order to perpetuate the ſciences and philoſophy. This work hath now appeared.

THIS book, which contains all the errors and all the truths that have iſſued from the human mind, from the doctrines of theology to the ſpeculations on inſects; which contains an account of every work of the hands of men from a ſhip to a pin; this repository of the intelligence of all nations, which would have been more perfect, had it not been executed in the miſt of all kinds of perſecutions and of obſtacles; this repository will, in future ages, characteriſe that of philoſophy, which after ſo many advantages procured to mankind, ought to be conſidered as a divinity on earth. It is ſhe who unites, enlightens, aids, and comforts mankind. She beſtows every thing upon them, without exacting any worſhip in return. She requires of them, not the ſacrifice of their paſſions, but a reaſonable, uſeful, and moderate exerciſe of all their faculties. Daughter of nature, diſpenſer of her gifts, interpreter of her rights, ſhe conſecrates her intelligence and her labour to the uſe of man. She renders him better, that he may be happier. She deteſts only tyranny and impoſture, becauſe they oppreſs mankind. She does not deſire to rule, but ſhe exacts of ſuch as govern, to conſider public happineſs as the only ſource of their enjoyment. She avoids conteſts, and the name of ſects, but ſhe tolerates them all. The blind and the wicked calumniate her, the former are afraid of perceiving their errors, and the latter of having them detected

d. Ungrateful children, who rebel against B O O F
 their mother, when she wishes to free them. XIX.
 their errors and vices, which occasion the
 calamities of mankind!

It, however, spreads insensibly over a more
 extensive horizon. Literature has formed a kind
 of empire which prepares the way for making
 the world be considered as one single republican
 state. In truth, if philosophy be ever enabled to
 penetrate itself into the minds of sovereigns or their
 ministers, the system of politics will be improved,
 rendered simple. Humanity will be more re-
 spected in all plans; the public good will enter into
 all calculations, not merely as an expression, but as an
 object of utility even to kings.

Printing has already made such a progress,
 that it can never be put a stop to in any state, with-
 out lowering the people in order to advance the
 authority of government. Books enlighten the
 minds of the people, humanise the great, are the
 amusement of the leisure hours of the rich, and in-
 struct all the classes of society. The sciences bring
 to perfection the different branches of political
 economy. Even the errors of systematical per-
 sonality are dispelled by the productions of the press,
 and cause reasoning and discussion try them by the
 force of truth.

An intercourse of knowledge is become neces-
 sary for industry, and literature alone maintains
 it in communication. The reading of a voyage
 and the world has, perhaps, occasioned more
 adventures of that kind; for interest alone cannot
 afford the means of enterprise. At present nothing
 can be cultivated without some study, or without
 some knowledge that has been handed down and
 diffused by reading. Princes themselves have not
 covered their rights from the usurpations of the
 clergy, but by the assistance of that knowledge
 which

this sublime state till after he hath studied him-
 self, till after he hath become acquainted with his
 duties, and contracted the habit of fulfilling them.
 The science which leads to that high degree of
 perfection is called morality. It is the rule of
 actions, and if one may be allowed the expression,
 the art of virtue. Encouragements and praises
 are due for all the labours undertaken to remove
 the calamities which surround us, to increase the
 number of our enjoyments, to embellish the
 dream of our life, to exalt, to improve, and to il-
 lustrate our species. Eternal blessings upon those
 who by their studies and by their genius have
 procured any of these advantages to human na-
 ture! But the first crown will be for that wise
 man whose affecting and enlightened writings
 will have had a more noble aim, that of mak-
 ing us better.

THE hopes of obviating so great a glory hath
 given rise to numberless productions. What a
 variety of useless and even pernicious books!
 They are in general, the work of priests and their
 disciples, who not chusing to see that religion,
 should consider men only in the relation they
 stand in to the divinity, made it necessary to look
 for another ground for the relations they bear to
 one another. If there be an universal system of
 morality it cannot be the effect of a particular
 cause. It has been the same in past ages, and it
 will continue the same in future times: it cannot
 then be grounded on religious opinions, which,
 ever since the beginning of the world, and from
 one pole to the other, have continually varied.
 Greece had vicious deities, the Romans had them
 likewise: the senseless worshipper of the Fetiches,
 adores rather a devil than a God. Every people
 made gods for themselves, and gave them such
 attributes as they chose: to some they ascribed
 goodness,

BOOK
XIX.

goodness, to others cruelty, to some immorality, and to others the greatest sanctity and severity of manners. One would imagine, that every nation intended to deify it's own passions and opinions. Notwithstanding this diversity in religious systems and modes of worship, all nations have perceived that men ought to be just; they have all honoured as virtues, goodness, pity, friendship, fidelity, paternal tenderness, filial respect, sincerity, gratitude, patriotism; in a word, all those sentiments which may be considered as so many ties adapted to unite men more closely to one another. The origin of that uniformity of judgment, so constant, so general, ought not then to be looked for in the midst of contradictory and transient opinions. If the ministers of religion have appeared to think otherwise, it is because by their system they were enabled to regulate all the actions of mankind, to dispose of their fortunes, and command their wills, and to secure to themselves, in the name of heaven, the tributary government of the world.

THEIR empire was so absolute that they had succeeded in establishing that barbarous system of morality, which placed the only pleasures that make life supportable, in the rank of the greatest crimes; an abject morality, which imposed the obligation of being pleased with humiliation and shame; an extravagant morality which threatened with the same punishments, both the foibles of love and the most atrocious actions; a superstitious morality which enjoined to murder, without compassion, all those who swerved from the prevailing opinions; a puerile morality, which founded the most essential duties upon tales equally disgusting and ridiculous; an interested morality, which admitted no other virtues than those which were useful to priesthood; nor no other crimes

crimes than those which were contrary to it. If BOOK
XIX.
priests had only encouraged men to observe natural morality by the hope or the fear of future rewards and punishments they would have deserved well of society; but in endeavouring to support by violence, useful tenets, which had only been introduced by the mild way of persuasion, they have removed the veil which concealed the depth of their ambition: the mask is fallen off.

It is more than two thousand years since Socrates, spreading out a veil above our heads, had declared, that nothing of what was passing beyond that veil concerned us, and that the actions of men were not good because they were pleasing to the gods, but that they were pleasing to the gods because they were good; a principle which separated morality from religion.

ACCORDINGLY, at the tribunal of philosophy and reason, morality is a science, the object of which is the preservation and common happiness of the human species. To this double end all it's rules ought to be referred. Their natural, constant, and eternal principle is in man himself, and in a resemblance there is in the general organization of men, which includes a similarity of wants, of pleasures and pains, of force and weakness; a similarity from whence arises the necessity of society, or of a common opposition against such dangers as are equally incident to each individual, which proceeds from nature herself, and threatens man on all sides. Such is the origin of particular connections and domestic virtues: such is the origin of general duties and of public virtues: such is the source of the notion of personal and public utility, the source of all compacts between individuals, and of all laws.

THERE is, properly speaking, only one virtue, which is justice, and only one duty, to make one's self

BOOK XIX self happy The virtuous man is he who hath the most exact notions of justice and happiness, and whose conduct conforms most rigorously to them There are two tribunals, that of nature and that of the laws

THE law chastises crimes, nature chastises vices The law presents the gallows to the assassin, nature presents dropsy or consumption to intemperance

SEVERAL writers have endeavoured to trace the first principles of morality in the sentiments of friendship, tenderness, compassion, honour, and benevolence, because they found them engraven on the human heart But did they not also find there hatred, jealousy, revenge, pride, and the love of dominion? For what reason therefore have they founded morality on the former principles rather than on the latter? It is because they have understood that the former were of general advantage to society, and the others fatal to it Those philosophers have perceived the necessity of morality, they have conceived what it ought to be, but have not discovered its leading and fundamental principle The very sentiments, indeed, which they adopt as the ground work of morality, because they appear to be serviceable to the common good, if left to themselves would be very prejudicial to it How can we determine to punish the guilty if we listen only to the pleas of compassion? How shall we guard against partiality, if we consult only the dictates of friendship? How shall we avoid being favourable to idleness, if we attend only to the sentiments of benevolence? All these virtues have their limits, beyond which they degenerate into vices, and those limits are settled by the invariable rules of eternal justice, or, which is the same thing, by the

the common interests of men united together in society, and the constant object of that union. BOOK
XIX.

Is it on it's own account that valour is ranked among the number of virtues? No; it is on account of the service it is of to society. This is evident from the circumstance of it's being punished as a crime in a man who makes use of it to disturb the public peace. Wherefore is drunkenness a vice? Because every man is bound to contribute to the common good, and to fulfil that obligation, he must maintain the free exercise of his faculties. Wherefore are certain actions more blameable in a magistrate or general, than in a private man? Because greater inconveniences result from them to society.

THE obligations of the man separated from society are unknown to me, since I can neither perceive the source nor the end of them. As he lives by himself he is certainly at liberty to live for himself alone. No being has a right to require succours from him which he does not implore for himself. It is quite the contrary with respect to a person who lives in the social state. He is nothing by himself, and is supported only by what surrounds him. His possessions, his enjoyments, his powers, and even his own existence, all belong entirely to the body of the state: he owes them all to the body politic, of which he is a member.

THE misfortunes of society become those of the citizen; he runs the risk of being crushed, whatever part of the edifice may fall down. If he should commit an injustice he is threatened with a similar one. If he should give himself up to crimes, others may become criminal to his prejudice. He must therefore tend constantly to the general good, since it is upon this prosperity that his own depends.

BOOK

XIX.

If one single individual should attend only to his interest without any concern for those of the public; if he should exempt himself from the common duty, under pretence that the actions of one individual cannot have a determined influence upon the general order, other persons will also be desirous of indulging their personal propensities. Then all the members of the republic will become alternately executioners and victims. Every one will commit and receive injuries, every one will rob and be robbed, every one will strike and receive a blow. A state of warfare will prevail between all sorts of individuals. The state will be ruined, and the citizens will be ruined with the state.

THE first men who collected themselves into society were undoubtedly not immediately sensible to the whole of these truths. The idea of their strength being most prevalent in them, they were probably desirous of obtaining every thing by the exertion of it. Repeated calamities warned them of the process of time of the necessity of forming conventions. Reciprocal obligations increased in proportion as the necessity of them was felt; thus it is that duty began with society.

DUTY may therefore be defined to be the sacred obligation of doing whatever is suitable to society. It includes the practice of all the virtues, since there is not one of them which is not useful to a civilized body; and it excludes all the vices, because there is not one which is not prejudicial to it.

It would be reasoning pitifully to imagine with some corrupt persons, that men have a right to despise all the virtues, under pretence that they are only institutions of convenience. Wretch that thou art, wouldst thou live in a society which cannot subsist without them; wouldst thou enjoy the

the advantages which result from them, and wouldst thou think thyself dispensed from practising, or even from holding them in estimation? What could possibly be the object of them if they were not connected with man? Would this great name have been given to acts that were merely barren? On the contrary, it is their necessity which constitutes their essence and their merit. Let me once more repeat, that all morality consists in the maintenance of order. It's principles are steady and uniform, but the application of them varies sometimes according to the climate and to the local or political situation of the people. Polygamy is in general more natural to hot than to cold climates. Circumstances, however, of the times, in opposition to the rule of the climate, may order monogamy in one island of Africa, and permit polygamy in Kamtschatka, if one be a means of putting a stop to the excess of population at Madagascar, and the other, of hastening it's progress upon the coasts of the frozen sea. But nothing can authorize adultery and fornication in those two zones, when conventions have established the laws of marriage or of property in the use of women.

It is the same thing with respect to all the lands and to property. What would be a robbery in a state, where property is justly distributed, becomes subsistence for life in a state where property is in common. Thus it is, that theft and adultery were not permitted at Sparta; but the public right allowed what would be considered elsewhere as theft and adultery. It was not the wife or the property of another person that was then taken; but the wife and the property of all, when the laws granted as a reward to dexterity, every advantage it could procure to itself.

BOOK
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BOOK I.

XIX

It is every where known what is just and unjust, but the same ideas are not universally attached to the same actions. In hot countries, where the climate requires no clothing, modesty is not offended by nakedness, but the abuse, whatever it may be, of the intercourse between the sexes, and premature attempts upon virginity, are crimes which must disgust. In India, where every thing conspires to make a virtue even of the act itself of generation, it is a cruelty to put the cow to death which nourishes man with her milk, and to destroy those animals, whose life is not prejudicial, nor their death useful, to the human species. The Iroquois, or the Huron, who kill their father with a stroke of a club, rather than expose him to perish of hunger, or upon the pile of the enemy, think they do an act of filial piety in obeying the last wishes of their parent, who asks for death from them as a favour. The means the most opposite in appearance, tend all equally to the same end, the maintenance and the prosperity of the body politic.

SUCH is that universal morality, which being inherent in the nature of man, is also inherent in the nature of societies, that morality which may vary only in its application, but never in its essence that morality, in a word, to which all the laws must refer and be subordinate. According to this common rule of all our public and private actions, let us examine whether there ever were or ever can be good morals in Europe.

We live under the influence of three codes, the natural, the civil, and the religious code. It is evident, that as long as these three sorts of legislation shall be contradictory to each other, it will be impossible to be virtuous. It will sometimes be necessary to trample upon nature in order to obey

they social institutions, and to 'counteract social institutions to conform to the precepts of religion. The consequence of this will be, that while we are alternately infringing upon these several authorities, we shall respect neither of them, and that we shall neither be men, nor citizens, nor pious persons.

Good morals would therefore require previous reform, which should reduce these codes to identity. Religion ought neither to forbid nor to prescribe any thing to us, but what is prescribed or forbidden by the civil law, and the civil and religious laws ought to model themselves upon natural law, which hath been, is, and will always be, the strongest. From whence it appears, that a true legislator hath not yet existed; that it was neither Moses, nor Solon, nor Numa, nor Mohammed, nor even Confucius; that it is not only in Athens, but also over all the globe, that the best legislation they could receive hath been given to man, nor the best which could have been given to them; that in considering only morality, mankind would perhaps be less distant from happiness had they remained in the simple and innocent state of some savages; for nothing is so difficult as to eradicate inveterate and sanctified prejudice. For the architect who draws the plan of a great edifice, an even area is better than one covered with bad materials, heaped upon one another without method and without plan, and unfortunately connected together by the most durable cements of time, of custom, and of the authority of sovereigns and of priests. Then the wise man advances in his work only with timidity; he is exposed to greater risk, and loses more time in demolishing than in constructing.

Since the invasion of the barbarians in this part of the world, almost all governments have had

BOOK
XIX.

no other foundation than the interest of one single man, or of a single corporate body, to the prejudice of society in general. Founded upon conquest, the effect of superior strength, they have only varied in the mode of keeping the people in subjection. At first war made victims of them, devoted either to the sword of their enemies or to that of their masters. How many ages have passed away in scenes of blood and in the carnage of nations, that is to say, in the distribution of empires before the terms of peace had deified that state of intestine war, which is called society or government?

WHEN the feudal government had for ever excluded those who tilled the ground from the right of possessing it: when, by a sacrilegious collusion between the author and the throne, the authority of God had been enforced by that of the sword; what effect had the morality of the gospel, but to authorize tyranny by the doctrine of passive obedience, but to confirm slavery by a contempt of the sciences; in a word, to add to the terror of the great, that of evil spirits? And what were morals with such laws? What they are at present in Poland, where the people, being without lands and without arms, are left to be massacred by the Russians, or enlisted by the Prussians, and having neither courage nor sentiment, think it is sufficient if they are christians, and remain neutral between their neighbours and their lords palatine.

To a similar state of anarchy wherein morals had no distinguishing character, nor any degree of stability, succeeded the epidemic fury of the holy wars, by which nations were corrupted and degraded, by communicating to each other the contagion of vices with that of fanaticism. Morals were changed with the change of climate. All the

the passions were inflamed and heightened between the tombs of Jesus, and Mohammed. From Palestine was imported a principle of luxury and ostentation, an inordinate taste for the spices of the east, a romantic spirit which civilized the nobility, without rendering the people more happy, consequently more virtuous: for if there be no happiness without virtue, virtue on the other hand, will never support itself without a fund of happiness.

ABOUT two centuries after Europe had been depopulated by Asiatic expeditions, its transmigration in America happened. This revolution introduced an universal confusion, and blended the vices and productions of every climate with our own. Neither was any improvement made in the science of morality, because men were then destroyed through avarice, instead of being massacred on account of religion. Those nations which had made the largest acquisitions in the New World, seemed to acquire at the same time all the stupidity, ferociousness, and ignorance of the Old. They became the channel through which the vices and diseases of their country were communicated. They were poor and dirty in the midst of their wealth, debauched though surrounded with temples and with priests; they were idle and superstitious with all the sources of commerce, and the facility of acquiring information. But the love of riches likewise corrupted all other nations.

WHETHER it be war or commerce which introduces great riches into a state, they soon become the object of public ambition. At first men of the greatest power seize upon them: and as riches come into the hands of those who have the management of public affairs, wealth is confounded with honour in the minds of the people; and the virtuous

BOOK
XIX.

virtuous citizen, who aspired to employments only for the sake of glory, aspires, without knowing it, to honour for the sake of advantage. Neither lands nor treasure, any more than conquests, are obtained with any other view but to enjoy them; and riches are enjoyed only for pleasure and the ostentation of luxury. Under these different ideas, they equally corrupt the citizen who possesses them, and the people who are seduced by their attraction. As soon as men labour only from a motive of gain, and not from a regard to their duty, the most advantageous situations are preferred to the most honourable. It is then we see the honour of a profession diverted, obscured, and lost in the paths that lead to wealth.

To the advantage of that false consideration at which riches arrive, are to be added the natural convenience of opulence, a fresh source of corruption. The man who is in a public situation is desirous of having people about him; the honours he receives in public are not sufficient for him; he wants admirers, either of his talents, his luxury, or his profusion. If riches be the means of corruption, by leading to honours, how much more will they be so, by diffusing a taste for pleasure! Misery offers it's chastity to sale, and idleness it's liberty; the prince sets the magistracy up to auction, and the magistrates set a price upon justice: the court sells employments, and placemen sell the people to the prince, who sells them again to the neighbouring powers, either in treaties of war, or subsidy; of peace, or exchange of territory. But in this sordid traffic, introduced by the love of wealth, the most evident alteration is that which it makes in the morals of women:

THERE is no vice which owes it's origin to so many other vices, and which produces a greater number

number of them, than the incontinence of a sex, BOOK
XIX.
whose true attendant, and most beautiful ornament, is bashfulness and modesty.

I do not understand by incontinence, the promiscuous use of women; the wise Cato advised it in his republic; nor do I mean a plurality of them, which is the result of the ardent and voluptuous countries of the east; neither do I mean the liberty, whether indefinite or limited, which custom, in different countries, grants to the sex, of yielding to the desires of several men. This, among some people, is one of the duties of hospitality, among others, a means of improving the human race, and in other places an offering made to the gods, an act of piety consecrated by religion. I call incontinence, all intercourse between the two sexes forbidden by the laws of the state.

Why should this misdemeanour, so pardonable, in itself, this action of so little consequence in it's nature, so much confined in the gratification, have so pernicious an influence upon the morals of women? This is, I believe, a consequence of the importance we have attached to it. What will be the restraint of a woman, dishonoured in her own eyes, and in those of her fellow-citizens? What support will other virtues find in her soul, when nothing can aggravate her shame? The contempt of public opinion, one of the greatest efforts of wisdom, is seldom separated, in a feeble and timid mind, from the contempt of one's self. This degree of heroism cannot exist with a consciousness of vice. The woman who no longer respects herself, soon becomes insensible to censure and to praise; and without standing in awe of those two respectable phantoms, I know not what will be the rule of her conduct. There remains nothing but the rage of voluptuousness,

VOL. VI. O o that

BOOK XIX. that can indemnify her for the sacrifice she has made. This she feels, and this she persuades herself of; and thus, free from the constraint of the public consideration, she gives herself up to it without reserve.

WOMEN take their resolution with much more difficulty than men, but when once they have taken it, they are much more determined. A woman never blushes when once she has ceased to blush. What will she not trample upon, when she hath triumphed over virtue? What idea can she have of that dignity, that decency, and that delicacy of sentiment, which, in the days of her innocence, directed and dictated her conversation, constituted her behaviour, and directed her dress? These will be considered only as childishness, as pusillanimity, or as the little intrigue of a pretended innocent person, who has parents to satisfy, and a husband to deceive; but a change of times brings on a change of manners.

To whatever degree of perversity she may have attained, it will not lead her to great enormities. Her weakness deprives her of the boldness to commit atrocious acts; but her habitual hypocrisy, if she had not entirely thrown off the mask, will cast a tint of falsity upon her whole character. Those things which a man dares to attempt by force, she will attempt and obtain by artifice. A corrupt woman propagates corruption. She propagates it by bad example, by insidious counsels, and sometimes by ridicule. She hath begun by coquetry, which was addressed to all men; she hath continued by gallantry, so volatile in it's propensities, that it is more easy to find a woman who hath never had any passions, than to find one who had only been once impassioned; and at last she reckons as many lovers as she hath acquaintances, whom she recalls, expels,

pels, and recalls again, according to the want she hath of them, and to the nature of intrigues of all kinds into which she hath plunged herself. This is what she means by having known how to enjoy her best years, and to avail herself of her charms. It was one of these women, who had entered into the depths of the art, and who declared upon her death-bed, that she regretted only the pains she had taken to deceive the men; and that the most honest among them were the greatest dupes.

UNDER the influence of such manners, conjugal love is disdained, and that contempt weakens the sentiment of maternal tenderness if it doth not even extinguish it. The most sacred, and the most pleasing duties become troublesome; and when they have been neglected, or broken, nature never renews them. The woman who suffers any man but her husband to approach her, hath no more regard for her family, and can be no more respected by them. The ties of blood are slackened; births become uncertain; and the son knows no more his father, nor the father his son.

I WILL therefore maintain it, that connections of gallantry complete the depravity of manners, and indicate it more strongly than public prostitution. Religion is extinct, when the priest leads a scandalous life; in the same manner virtue hath no asylum, when the sanctuary of marriage is profaned. Bashfulness is under the protection of the timid sex. Who is it that shall blush, when a woman doth not? It is not prostitution which multiplies acts of adultery; it is gallantry which extends prostitution. The ancient moralists, who pitied the unfortunate victims of libertinism, condemned without mercy the infidelity of married women; and not without reason. If we were to throw all the shame of

BOOK
XIX.

vice upon the class of common women, other women would not fail soon to take honour to themselves from a limited intercourse, although it would be so much more criminal, as it was more voluntary, and more illicit. The honest and virtuous women will no more be distinguished from the women of strong passions; a frivolous distinction will be established between the woman of gallantry and the courtesan; between gratuitous vice and vice reduced by misery to the necessity of requiring a stipend; and these subtleties will betray a system of depravation. O fortunate and rude times of our forefathers, when there were none but virtuous or bad women; when all who were not virtuous were corrupted; and where an established system of vice was not excused, by persevering in it.

BUT finally, what is the source of those delicate passions, formed by the mind, by sentiment, and by sympathy of character? The manner in which these passions always terminate, shews plainly, that those fine expressions are only employed to shorten the defence, and justify the defeat. Equally at the service of reserved and dissolute women, they are become almost ridiculous.

WHAT is the result of this national gallantry? A premature libertinism, which ruins the health of young men before they are arrived to maturity, and destroys the beauty of the women in the prime of their life; a race of men without information, without strength, and without courage; incapable of serving their country; magistrates destitute of dignity and of principles; a preference of wit to good sense; of pleasures to duty; of politeness to the feelings of humanity; of the art of pleasing, to talents, to virtue; men absorbed in self-consideration, substituted to men who are serviceable; offers without reality; innumerable acquaint-

acquaintances, and no friends; mistresses, and no B O O K
wives; lovers, and no husbands; separations and XIX.
divorces; children without education; fortunes
in disorder; jealous mothers, and hysterical wo-
men; nervous disorders; peevish old age, and
premature death.

It is with difficulty that women of gallantry
escape the dangers of the critical period of life.
The vexation at the neglect which threatens
them, completes the depravation of the blood
and of the humours, at a time when the calm
which arises from consciousness of an honest life
might be salutary. It is dreadful to seek in vain,
in one's self, the consolations of virtue, when the
calamities of nature surround us.

LET us, therefore, talk no more of morality
among modern nations; and if we wish to disco-
ver the cause of this degradation, let us search
for it in it's true principle.

GOLD doth not become the idol of a people,
and virtues does not fall into contempt, unless the
bad constitution of the government leads on to
such a corruption. Unfortunately, it will always
have this effect, if the government be so consti-
tuted, that the temporary interest of a single per-
son, or of a small number, can with impunity
prevail over the common and invariable interest
of the whole. It will always produce this corrup-
tion, if those in whose hands authority is lodged
can make an arbitrary use of it; can place them-
selves above the reach of justice; can make their
power administer to plundering, and their plun-
der to the continuance of abuses occasioned by
their power. Good laws are maintained by good
morals, but good morals are established by good
laws. Men are what government makes them.
To modify them, it is always armed with an irre-
sistible force, that of public opinion; and the go-
vernment

BOOK XIX Government will always make use of corruption, when by it's nature it is itself corrupt. In a word, the nations of Europe will have good morals when they have good governments. Let us conclude. But let us previously give a rapid sketch of the good and of the evil produced by the discovery of the East and West Indies.

Reflection on upon the good and the evil which the discovery of the New World hath done to Europe.

THIS great event hath improved the construction of ships, navigation, geography, astronomy, medicine, natural history, and some other branches of knowledge, and these advantages have not been attended with any known inconvenience.

It hath procured to some empires vast domains, which have given splendour, power, and wealth, to the states which have founded them. But what expences have not been lavished, to clear, to govern, or to defend these distant possessions. When these colonies should have acquired that degree of culture, knowledge, and population which is suitable for them, will they not detach themselves from a country which hath founded it's splendour upon their prosperity? We know not at what period this revolution will happen, but it must certainly take place.

EUROPE is indebted to the New World for a few conveniences, and a few luxuries. But before these enjoyments were obtained, were we less healthy, less robust, less intelligent, or less happy? Are these frivolous advantages, so cruelly obtained, so unequally distributed, and so obstinately disputed, worth one drop of that blood which hath been spilt, and which will still be spilt for them? Are they to be compared to the life of a single man? and yet, how many lives have hitherto been destroyed, how many are at present devoted, and how many will not hereafter be sacrificed, to supply chimerical wants, which we shall

shall never be persuaded to get rid of, either by B. O. O. K
XIX.
authority or reason.

THE voyages undertaken upon all the seas have weakened the principle of national pride; they have inspired civil and religious toleration; they have revived the ties of original fraternity; have inspired the true principles of an universal system of morality, founded upon the identity of wants, of calamities, of pleasures, and of the analogies common to mankind under every latitude; they have induced the practice of benevolence towards every individual who appeals to it, whatever his manners, his country, his laws, and his religion may be. But at the same time, the minds of men have been turned to lucrative speculation. The sentiment of glory hath been weakened. Riches have been preferred to fame; and every thing which tended to the elevation of mankind hath visibly inclined to decay.

THE New World hath multiplied species amongst us. An earnest desire of obtaining it hath occasioned much exertion upon the face of the globe; but exertion is not happiness. Whose destiny hath been meliorated by gold and silver? Do not the nations who dig them from the bowels of the earth, languish in ignorance, superstition, and pride, - and all those vices which it is most difficult to eradicate, when they have taken deep root. Have they not lost their agriculture and their manufactures? Their existence, is it not precarious? If an industrious people, proprietors of a fertile soil, should one day represent to the other people, that they were too long carried on a losing trade with them; and that they will no longer give the thing for the representation; would not this sumptuary law be a sentence of death against that region, which hath none but riches

B O O K
XIX. riches of convention, unless the latter, driven by despair, should shut up it's mines, in order to open furrows in the ground?

THE other powers of Europe may perhaps have acquired no greater advantage from the treasures of America. If the repartition of them hath been equal, or proportionate between them, neither of them have decreased in opulence, or increased in strength. The analogies which existed in ancient times still exist. Let us suppose that some nations should have acquired a greater quantity of metals than the rival nations, they will either bury them, or throw them into circulation. In the first instance, this is nothing more than the barren property of a superfluous mass of gold. In the second, they will acquire only a temporary superiority, because in a short space of time all vendible commodities will bear a price proportionate to the abundance of the signs which represent them.

SUCH are then the evils attached even to the advantages which we owe to the discovery of the East and West Indies. But how many calamities, which cannot be compensated, have not attended the conquest of these regions?

HAVE the devastators of them lost nothing by depopulating them for a long species of ages? If all the blood that hath been spilt in those countries had been collected into one common reservoir, if the dead bodies had been heaped up in the same plain, would not the blood and the carcases of the Europeans have occupied a great space in it? Hath it been possible speedily to fill up the void which thin emigrants had left in their native land, infected with a shameful and cruel poison from the New World, which attacks even the sources of reproduction?

SINCE the bold attempts of Columbus and of BOOK
XIX.
Gama, a spirit of fanaticism, till then unknown, hath been established in our countries, which is that of making discoveries. We have traversed, and still continue to traverse, all the climates from one pole to another, in order to discover some continents to invade, some islands to ravage, and some people to spoil, to subdue, and to massacre. Would not the person who should put an end to this frenzy deserve to be reckoned among the benefactors of mankind?

THE sedentary life is the only favourable one to population. The man who travels leaves no posterity behind him. The land forces have created a multitude of persons devoted to celibacy. The naval forces have almost doubled them; with this difference, that the latter are destroyed by illnesses on board of ship, by shipwrecks, by fatigue, by bad food, and by the change of climate. A soldier may return to some of the professions useful to society. A sailor is a sailor for ever. When he is discharged from the service, he is of no further use to his country, which is under the necessity of providing an hospital for him.

LONG voyages have introduced a new species of anomalous savages. I mean those men, who traverse so many countries, and who in the end belong to none; who take wives wherever they find them, and that only from motives of animal necessity; those amphibious creatures, who live upon the surface of the waters; who come on shore only for a moment; to whom every habitable latitude is equal; who have, in reality, neither fathers, mothers, children, brothers, relations, friends, nor fellow-citizens, in whom the most pleasing and the most sacred ties are extinct; who quit their
country

BOOK

XIX.

country without regret; who never return to it without being impatient of going out again; and to whom the habit of living upon a dreadful element gives a character of ferociousness. Their probity is not proof against the crossing of the line; and they acquire riches in exchange for their virtue and their health.

THIS insatiable thirst of gold, hath given birth to the most infamous and the most atrocious of all traffics, that of slaves. Crimes against nature are spoken of, and yet this is not instanced as the most execrable of them. Most of the European nations have been stained with it, and a base motive of interest hath extinguished in their hearts all the sentiments due to our fellow-creatures. But, without these assistances, these countries, the acquisition of which hath cost so dear, would still be uncultivated. Let them then remain fallow; if, in order to cultivate them, it be necessary that man should be reduced to the condition of the brute, in the person of the buyer, of the seller, and of him who is sold.

SHALL we not take into our account, the complication which the settlements in the East and West Indies have introduced in the machine of government? Before that period, the persons proper to hold the reins of government were infinitely scarce. An administration more embarrassed, hath required a more extensive genius, and greater depth of knowledge. The cares of sovereignty, divided between the citizens placed at the foot of the throne, and the subjects settled under the equator, or near the pole, have been insufficient for both the one and the other. Every thing hath fallen into confusion. The several states have languished under the yoke of oppression, and endless wars, or such as were incessantly renewed,

newed; have harassed the globe, and stained it with blood. BOOK
XIX.

Let us stop here, and consider ourselves as existing at the time when America and India were unknown. Let me suppose that I address myself to the most cruel of the Europeans in the following terms. There exist regions which will furnish thee with rich metals, agreeable clothing, and delicious food. But read this history, and behold at what price the discovery is promised to thee. Dost thou wish or not that it should be made? Is it to be imagined that there exists a being infernal enough to answer this question in the affirmative! Let it be remembered, that there *will not be a single instant in futurity*, when my question will not have the same force.

NATIONS, I have discoursed to you on your dearest interests. I have placed before your eyes the benefits of nature, and the fruits of industry. As ye are too frequently the occasion of your mutual unhappiness, you must have felt how the jealousy of avarice, how pride and ambition remove far from your common weal, the happiness that presents itself to you by peace and commerce. I have recalled that happiness which has been removed from you. The sentiments of my heart have been warmly expressed in favour of all mankind, without distinction of sect or country. Men are all equal in my sight, by the reciprocal relation of the same wants and the same calamities: as they are all equal in the eyes of the Supreme Being through the connection between their weakness and his power. I have not been ignorant that, subject, as ye were, to masters, your destiny must principally depend upon them; and that while I was speaking to you of your calamities, I was censuring them for their errors, or their

BOOK XIX. their crimes. This reflection hath not depressed my courage. I have never conceived, that the sacred respect due to humanity, could possibly be irreconcilable with that which is due to those who should be it's natural protectors. I have been transported in idea into the councils of the ruling powers. I have spoken without disguise, and without fear, and have no reason to accuse myself of having betrayed the great cause I have ventured to plead. I have informed princes of their duties, and of the rights of the people. I have traced to them the fatal effects of that inhuman power which is guilty of oppression; and of that whose indolence and weakness suffers it. I have sketched all around them portraits of your misfortunes, and they cannot but have been sensibly affected by them. I have warned them, that if they turned their eyes away, those true but dreadful pictures would be engraven on the marble of their tombs, and accuse their ashes, while posterity trampled on them.

BUT talents are not always equal to our zeal. Undoubtedly I have stood in need of a greater share of that penetration which discovers expedients, and of that eloquence which enforces truth. Sometimes, perhaps, the sentiments of my heart have contributed to raise my genius; but most frequently I have perceived myself overwhelmed with my subject, and conscious of my own inability.

MAY writers, on whom nature has bestowed greater abilities, complete by their masterpieces what my essays have begun! Under the auspices of philosophy; may there be one day extended, from one extremity of the world to the other, that chain of union and benevolence which ought to connect all civilized people! May they never
more

more carry among savage nations the example of B O O K
vice and oppression! I do not flatter myself that, XIX
at the period of that happy revolution, my name
will be still in remembrance. This feeble work,
which will have only the merit of having brought
forth others better than itself, will doubtless be
forgotten. But I shall, at least, be able to say,
that I have contributed as much as was in my
power to the happiness of my fellow-creatures,
and pointed out the way, though perhaps at a
distance, to improve their destiny. This agree-
able thought will stand me in the stead of glory.
It will be the delight of my old age, and the con-
solation of my latest moments.

D

END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

I N D E X.

N B The Roman Numerals refer to the Volume,
and the Figures to the Page.

A

- A** *AFNAKY* Indians, of Nova Scotia, are infligated by the French to ravage the English settlements in New England, v 418
- Absolute* monarchs, a succession of wise and good ones, tend to destroy the spirit of a people, i 364
- Acadia* See *Nova Scotia*
- Acapulco*, account of the annual galleon which arrives at that port from Manila, ii 521 This port described, 522
- Acunba, Tristan de*, seizes the island of Socotora for the crown of Portugal, i 107
- Alen*, one of the most flourishing factories in Asia, before the Portuguese intercepted the navigation of the Red Sea, i 359
- Adventurers* naval, their character, iii 311
- Afghans* of Candahar, the minners of that people described, i 413 Their cruel ravages in Persia, 414 Are driven out of Persia by Kouli Khan *ibid.*
- Africa*, was first visited by the Normans, i 36 Portuguese expeditions to the western coasts of that continent, *ibid.* Portuguese settlements formed on the coasts, 183 The staple of their trade fixed at Mozambique *ibid.* General view of the situation and extent of this vast continent iv 3 Description of Egypt, 4 History of Lybia, 14 Foundation of the States of Algiers Tunis and Tripoli, 17 Empire of Morocco, 31 Plan proposed for suppressing the piratical States of Barbary, and civilizing the country, 38 Inquiry into the cause of the black colour of Negroes 42 Description of Guinea, 50 Account of the Africans on the banks of the Niger, 64 On the Gold-coast, 65 River Senegal, and its trade, 77 River Gambia 79 Cape Verd Islands, 81 Sierra Leone, 80 Islands of Curaco, 83 River Gabon 84 Loango 86 Inquiry into the cause and remedy of the unwholesomeness of the climate on the i coasts, 87

- Ages*, middle, of Europe characterized, i. 11.
- Agriculture* assiduously followed in China, i. 136. Is recommended to the people by the example of the emperors, 140. Revived in France by Charlemagne, ii. 5. The source of commerce is in turn promoted by commerce, vi. 436. Is the spring of population, *ibid.* Ancient Rome ruined by a contempt of, 437. England the first European nation that encouraged agriculture by honours and premiums, 439. Husbandmen oppressed and despised in France, 440. Cultivation pursued in Germany and other northern nations, 442. Why the most fertile territories produce the least, 443. Pernicious tendency of religious fasts and festivals, *ibid.* The arts of cultivation have not been studied so attentively as other arts, 444. Is the only source of wealth of which a country cannot be deprived by rivalry, 445. The welfare of cities dependant upon agriculture, 446. Husbandmen the most deserving of encouragement of any class in the state, 448. A free trade the means of promoting agriculture, 449. Gives birth to the arts, 450. Improves the climate of a country, 465.
- Aix la Chapelle*, remarks on the peace of, iii. 536.
- Albar Mahomed*, emperor, his scheme to acquire a knowledge of the religion of the Bramins, i. 47. Reduces Guzerat, ii. 30.
- Albany*, a fort erected there by the Dutch, to carry on a fur trade with the Indians, v. 452.
- Albemarle*, lord, examination of his conduct at the siege of Havana, iii. 562.
- Alberoni*, cardinal, his plan of colonization, ii. 542.
- Albuquerque*, *Alphonso*, is invested by the court of Lisbon, with the regulation of their interests in the East Indies, i. 94. Seizes the city of Goa, 95. Takes it again and fortifies it, *ibid.* His bold schemes to destroy the Venetian commerce with India, 109. Reduces and fortifies the city of Ormus in the Persian Gulph, 114. Reduces the city of Malacca, 122. His death and character, 129.
- Alcade*, his office in Mexico, iii. 237.
- Alcavalá*, a tax imposed on the Spanish American colonies, explained, iii. 247.
- Alexander the Great*, causes that facilitated his conquest of India, ii. 115.
- Alexandria* rendered the mart for eastern commerce under Ptolemy, the successor to Alexander, i. 97. Account of the intended navigable communication between this city and Berenice, *ibid.* Manner of carrying on the trade on it's failure, *ibid.* It's commerce transferred to Constantinople, 101. The harbour of, described, iv. 10.
- Algiers*, present state of that republic, iv. 25. Amount of their piratical fleet, 26. The trade with, in the hands of a company at Marseilles, 27. Description of the capital city, 29.
- Algonquins*, origin of the war between them and the Iroquois, v. 182. Are assisted by the French, 183. Are destroyed, 185.

- Almagro, Diego de*, his character, iii 10 Associates with Pizarro in his scheme of subduing Peru, *ibid* His disputes with him, 37 Is defeated and beheaded by Pizarro, 38
- Almagro the younger*, avenges the death of his father, by the massacre of Pizarro and his adherents, iii 39 His character and brutal proceedings, *ibid* Is reduced and put to death by Castro, 41
- Aluic*, socotrine, manner of preparing this drug, i 106.
- Alves wood*, account of that procured from Cochim China, ii 62 Use of, *ibid*
- Amazons*, sources and prodigious course of that great river in South America, i 1353 First discovery of, by the Spaniards, 354 Extinction into the fabulous stories of a nation of women called Amazons, 355 Voyage of Pedro Texeira up the river, 356 Hazardous mission of the Jesuits up that river, 360 Account of the bordering natives, 362
- Ambassadors*, why kept resident at the several European courts, vi 365
- Amboyna*, address of one of the natives of, to the Portuguese on their profligacy, i 191 Cloves cultivated there under Dutch authority, 233 Dutch account of a conspiracy formed against them by the English, 370 The accusation denied by the English on circumstances, *ibid*
- America*, the honour of giving name to this immense region due to Columbus, though capriciously reserved for Vesputius, ii 426 The propensity of the natives to an unnatural vice accounted for, 432 The conquests of the Spaniards, those greatly facilitated by the women, 433 Conquest of Mexico by Cortez, 438 Conquest of Peru by Pizarro, iii 10 A philosophical inquiry into the right of establishing colonies in distant countries, 167 Application to the conduct of Europeans in this quarter of the world, 170 Great importation of negroes into Spanish America, 224 Review of the forms of government established in Spanish America, 239 Ecclesiastical government in Spanish America, 240 Articles proper for Spain to cultivate in the colonies, 289 The colonies ought to be opened to foreigners, 290 Great contraband trade there, 294 Whether the Spanish empire there is permanent or not, 299 Description of the Caribbee Islands, 456 History of the Buccaneers, 484 Peaceable state of, after the peace of Utrecht, 528 Hints for abolishing slavery in America, iv 144 The northern parts of, probably visited by the Norwegians long before the time of Columbus, 292 The population of the British American islands principally owing to the civil war under Charles I v, 11 both the continents of America have been covered by the sea, 353 Reflections on the good and evil which result to Europe from the discovery of the New World vi, 566
- America, North*, the motives of the first European expeditions to, v 136 Character of the original natives, *ibid* Canada con-

quered by the English, and ceded to them, 333. History of the British settlements on this continent, 336. The English colonies greatly forwarded by emigrations of Puritans, 349. A true idea of this continent why so long retarded, 350. Compared with the Old World, *ibid*. Phenomena which indicate this continent to be more recently left by the ocean than the Old World, 353. Inquiry concerning the origin of the inhabitants of, 356. State of the country and its natives on the first arrival of the English, 365. The alterations effected by them, 366. Description of Hudson's Bay, 367. Discussion of the question about the existence of a north-west passage to India, 375. State of Canada under British government, 384. Description of Newfoundland, 392. The Cod fishery on the Great Bank, 398. Description of Nova Scotia, 415. Historical account of New England, 429. New York, 451. New Jersey, 464. Pennsylvania, vi to Maryland, 31. Virginia, 41. The two Carolinas, 56. Georgia, 72. Florida, 82. Extent of the British territories, 94. Observations on the sea coast of North America, 95. Causes of the slowness of vegetation there, 96. Description and uses of the candleberry myrtle, *ibid*. Description and uses of the sugar maple tree, 98. Account of the birds peculiar to this continent, 99. Bees brought over from Europe, and are continually increasing, 101. Was destitute of all domestic animals till stocked with them from Europe, *ibid*. Supplies England with naval stores, 104. Abounds with iron mines, 106. American iron allowed to be freely imported into England, 108. The vines there incapable of making wine, 109. Ineffectual attempts to produce silk in Carolina, 110. General observations on the population of this continent, 111. Review of the three principal classes of inhabitants, 112. Speech of a Quaker, reprobating the custom of retaining Negroes in slavery, 121. Aggregate number of its white and black inhabitants, 123. Causes of the rapid population there inquired into, *ibid*. General character of the inhabitants, 125. The preservation of national distinctions among the colonists ought to be dropped, 127. No ecclesiastical power allowed in the British colony governments, *ibid*. The distinctions among the colony governments, 129. Remarks on the imperfections of the colony constitutions, 133. Their present government only a reformation of the feudal system, 135. Inconveniences introduced by paper currency, 136. Restrictions imposed on their first rude manufactures, 138. Restraints on importation and exportation, 139. The British colonies called upon to contribute to the expenses of the mother country, 143. The foundation of their opposition to this claim stated, 145. Stamp Act imposed on them, 150. And repealed, *ibid*. Other duties imposed in its stead, 151. And repealed, except in the article of tea, 153. The port of Boston shut up, 154. Commencement of the war with Britain, 159. Arguments employed to justify the American side, 161. Declaration of independence,

- pendence, 195 Allegations in their manifesto, 196 The constitution of their new established government, 198 Progress of the war with Britain, 202 Why it was not more vigorously prosecuted on the part of the new states 214 A treaty of alliance concluded with France, 221 The independence of the American states acknowledged by the court of France, 222 The mediation of Spain offered between the contending powers, 234 Spain joins in the war against Britain, 236 Conduct of the American states explained, 241 Probable consequences of their independency, 242 Innate seeds of disunion among them 243 All mankind interested in the success of their efforts, 244 Review of their territorial possessions, and their natural productions, 245 Emigrants to them not likely to gain much by removal, 247 Probable extent of their future population, 248 Exhortation to them, *ibid* The discovery of, instrumental to the decline of the power of the Church of Rome vi 259
American islands; See *Habama*, *Bermudas*, *Caribbee*, &c. islands, and see also the most considerable of them under their proper names
Anabaptists are first distinguished in Germany by outrageous acts of rebellion, before they had digested their religious tenets into a system, vi 3 The leading principles of the sect 4 Are reduced to submilion, 6 Are sunk into obscurity, *ibid*
Analogy, the method of reasoning by, fallacious, is 48
Ananiboa, on the gold coast of Africa, the French driven from thence by the English, iv 81
Anarchy, the consequences of in a state, iii 37
Andrada, Ferdinand, commands the first Portuguese ships sent to China, i 133
Angola, on the coast of Africa, singular custom remarked there, iv 89 Account of the Portuguese settlement of St Paul de Loando, 91
Argria, the pirate, establishes an independent state, i 442 How reduced, 443
Anguilla, the island and its cultivation described, v 40
Aniar the reports circulated concerning the stright of, found to be fabulous, v 380
Anjengv on the coast of Malabar, account of the English factory there, i 429 Apostrophe to the memory of Eliza Draper, *ibid*
Annapolis, in Nova Scotia, built, v 419
Annuities for lives an obstacle to population, vi 476
Anson, Commodore, cause of the failure of his South Sea expedition, ii 511 535
Anthrophagy, moral considerations on, iii 328
Atigua first settlement of that island, v 26 Its present population and productions 27 Its military strength and revenue, 28 Governor Park killed by the inhabitants, 29 Jurisdiction of the governor, 30
Auiller, See *Caribbee Islands*

- newsp*, reflections on it's present, compared with it's former state, ii 219
- Arabia*, geographical description of i 389 It's three principal divisions, 390 It's ancient inhabitants, *ibid* Their conquests and improvement in arts under the influence of Mohammed, 391 Observations on their genius, *ibid* Their attention to commerce, 392 Manners and customs of the present Arabians, 393 Peculiar treatment of their women, 394 Their pastoral way of life, 395 Their disposition to plunder, 396 Their camels, *ibid* The manner in which they attack travellers, 397 Peculiar excellence of their horses, *ibid* Their poetical talents, 398. Historical account of the port of Aden, 399 Computation of the number of inhabitants, 403 Great consumption of coffee there, and great trade carried on with, *ibid* Account of the trade of Mocha, 404 At Jodda 408 At Surat, 409 Advantages derived from the pilgrimage to Mecca, 411 The trade carried on by the Arabs to Aleppo and Bassora, 418
- Arabs*, the first revivers of commerce in Europe, i 13 And the restorers of arts and sciences, 14 Were the first who sailed over the Atlantic Ocean, 29 Extend themselves over the East Indies, 88 Sciences cultivated by them, vi 541
- Archangel*, the English under Queen Elizabeth trade to Muscovy at that port soon after it's discovery, i 362
- Architecture*, Gothic, origin and principles of i 11
- Arcot*, nabob of, his court where kept, i 466 His connexions with the English, 467
- Areca*, a fruit purchased by the Dutch at Ceylon, description of the tree that produces it, with it's uses, i 261 Is used by the Indians with betel, 262
- Ariosto*, his character, vi 529
- Aristocracy*, the arguments for and against this mode of government, stated, vi 320
- Aristotle*, his character, vi 539 Is studied by the Arabs, 540 Is converted by the monks into the father of the philosophy of the schools 541 Is at length better understood, and found to teach true philosophy, 543
- Arithmetic*, invented by the Arab i 540
- Armada*, Spanish, for the conquest of England, brief history of, vi 390
- Armada*, her character vi 529
- Armenian* merchants, the nature of the trade they carry on at Gombroon, i 376 At Pegu, 481 In Bengal, 484
- Arms*, poisoned, the use of, very ancient, iv 196 Abolished by the laws of war, 197
- Army* standing the dangers of, how guarded against in the British government vi 301
- Arnott* description of the tree that produces this dye, iv 160 It's preparation for use, *ibid*
- Arrack*, how made at Batavia, i 307
- Arts*, originally derived from Asia, vi 451 Introduced into Europe

- Europe by the Crusaders, 452 Progress of, in the European states, *ibid* Are favourable to liberty, 454. The complicated nature of the arts exerted in various kinds of manufactures, 455. Are better adapted to republics than to monarchies, 459 Fine, the origin of, 521. Why Greece excelled in them, *ibid*. Why the Romans were inferior to the Greeks in them, 523. Revolutions of, traced, 526 Are first driven from Rome, and afterward brought back again, by the same people, 528. The splendour of their revival in Italy, *ibid* Their rapid progress in France, 530 Will not again be easily destroyed, 535 Perpetuate the genius of nations, 536 Lead to philosophy, 537.
- arts* and Sciences subject to fashion, iv. 49
- Asia*, a geographical description of, i. 37.
- astrolabe*, an instrument partly invented by prince Henry of Portugal, i. 30.
- asylum*, or place of protection for criminals, philosophical reflections on, ii. 473 That resulting from professional character, 474.
- Atabalipa*, inca of Peru, unsettled state of his government when invaded by Pizarro, iii. 13 His interview with Pizarro, 14. His revenue massacred, and himself taken prisoner, 16 His large offers of ransom, *ibid*. Is basely put to death, 18
- Ataída*, his vigilant defence of the Portuguese possessions in India, against the country powers, i. 193 Reforms the administration of affairs there, 196
- Atalantis*, the supposed existence of an ancient island so called, inquired into, i. 30.
- Athens*, the first commercial efforts of, i. 6
- Atlantic Ocean*, formerly supposed to be unpassable, i. 29 First crossed by the Moors and Arabs, *ibid*
- Audierces* in Spanish America, the nature of those tribunals, iii. 240.
- Aurengzebe* reduces the English, who had insulted his ships at Bombay, i. 382.
- Austria*, the court of, more intent on war and conquest, than on trade and government, ii. 218 The internal resources of the country not adequate to the pride and intolerant spirit of the house of, 219 Establishment of an East India Company at Ostend, 220 This Company sacrificed to other views, 224
- Authority* in government, it's prejudicial effects, vi. 351.
- Auto da Fé*, celebrated at Mexico, on account of the loss of a fleet, ii. 478 Reflections on this horrible act of expiation, *ibid*.
- Azores*, present state of those islands, iii. 440.

B

- Babar*, king of Samarcand, how induced to undertake the conquest of Indostan, ii. 117. Lays the foundation of the empire of Mogul Tartars, *ibid* His plan of government, 119

Bacon, Friar, important consequences that resulted from his experimental discoveries, vi, 542

——— Chancellor, his character, vi 543

Bahama Islands, their situation and number, v 76 Are settled by Captain Woods Rogers, 77

Babar, that province the principal place for the cultivation of poppies, and making of opium i 483

Bakaren, in the Persian Gulph revolutions of that island, i 423. Is considerable for its pearl fishery, *ibid*

Bahia, the government of, in Brazil, described, iii 391 Whale fishery there, 394 Culture of tobacco, *ibid* Amount of the tobacco trade there, 395

Balambangan, on the island of Borneo, a new English settlement there destroyed i 471

Balboa, Vasco Nunez de, arrives at the province of Darien, iii 6 His character, *ibid* Advances into the mountains, *ibid* Destroys and disperses the inhabitants, 7 Discovers the Southern Ocean, 8 Is superseded and put to death by Pedranas, 9

Baldruia, account of the Dutch expedition to, iii 299.

Balliaderes, Indian female dancers, account of, ii 39 Their dress, and dances 41

Baltic, duties paid in the Sound, by ships passing in or out, iv 308

Baltimore, Lord, See *Maryland*

Banana description of that tree, and its fruit, iii 464

Banda Islands, distinguished as the only places which produce nutmegs, i 235 Are barren in every other respect, 237 The original inhabitants exterminated, and now peopled by white men, *ibid*

Bardel, a Portuguese settlement up the river Ganges, its present forlorn state, i 470

Dariars, the trade of Mocha carried on by a succession of that class of people, i 405 Are the principal merchants at Sura, ii 32 Their mode of dealing *ibid* Their women, 34

Bantam how the Dutch acquired the exclusive trade with that kingdom, i 293

Barbadoes first settled by the English, v 20 General description of, and its population, *ibid* Conspiracy of the Negroes and Caribs, *ibid* Soil, and Culture of sugar there, 22 Present state of the island, and its trade, 24 Its capacity of defence against invasion 25

Barbary, the ancient Libya review of the history of this country, *ibid* Is subjected by the Saracens 15 By the Turks, 17

Foundation of the states of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli *ibid* Empire of Morocco, 31 Origin of these piratical states, 36 Means for suppressing them, 37 And civilizing the natives 39

Barbuda, description of that island, v 38 The purposes for which it is cultivated *ibid*

Barl, Jerusalem, description of the tree that produces it, iii 91 Three species or varieties of, *ibid* The virtues of, when first published

published, 95. Is supposed to have been anciently used in fevers by the natives of Peru, *ibid.*

Barons, under the feudal system of government, their character, i. 15.

Bartolomew, St. account of that island, iv. 406.

Bassora, the city, inhabitants, and trade of, described, i. 415.

The various commodities imported and exported there, 417. Ill treatment of the Dutch there, how retaliated, 419.

Batavia, the capital of all the Dutch East India settlements, described, i. 298. Causes of it's unwholesomeness, 299. Expedients of the inhabitants to rectify the infectious qualities of the air, 300. The diversity of it's inhabitants, *ibid.* Their luxury, 303. The nature of the intercourse between this city and the other Dutch settlements, 304. Intercourse with China, 305. Trade carried on with other nations, 307. Revenue and government of, 308. Is easy to be taken by any invader, 340.

Batte, settle in, and give name to Batavia, i. 204. Are particularly distinguished by Julius Cæsar, 205. Are overrun by the Franks, 206. Their country obtains the name of Holland, 207. For the continuation of their history, see *Holland*, and *Dutch*.

Bear of Canada described, v. 200.

Beaver of Canada, description and character of, v. 201. His mode of society and manner of building, 202. His amorous attachments, 205. Method of hunting him, 208. His powers compared with those of his savage pursuers, 209. Various qualities of beaver skins, 211.

Bees carried over from Europe to North America, where they are continually increasing, vi. 101.

Beggars encouraged by public charities, iv. 219.

Belém, the capital of the government of Para in Brazil, account of, iii. 384.

Bencoolen, on the island of Sumatra, a settlement formed there by the English, i. 469. Fort Marlborough built, and a trade for pepper established, *ibid.*

Bengal, boundaries and description of that province, i. 471. It's revolutions and present government, 472. Is the richest and most populous province in the Mogul empire, 477. Trade carried on with the neighbouring provinces, 478. It's trade in salt, and in silk particularly, 480. All foreign commerce engrossed by the Europeans, *ibid.* Exports of, 490. 493. Cruel treatment of the English at Calcutta, by the Soulah, 502. Rapid successes of the English under Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, 503. They obtain a formal grant of the sovereignty over the whole province, 506. The old form of government adhered to under English influence, *ibid.* The English empire over, precarious, 509. Their administration there corrupted, 512. Commercial oppressions exercised over the province, 514.

Frauds

Frauds practised with the coin of the country, 513. ¹ Terrible
famine there, 517 A fourth part of the inhabitants die, 519
Present circumstances of the French there, 11 166.

Benguela, St Philip de, on the coast of Africa, a Portuguese
settlement, account of, 1v 91

Benzoin, gum, where found, 1 251

Beques, in Egypt, it's harbour described, 11 117

Berbice, boundaries and extent of this settlement, 1v 270 History
of, 271 Produce and trade of the country, 274

Berkeley, governor of Virginia, protects the refugee royalists there,
vi 44

Bermudas Islands first discovery and settlement of, v 79 - Ge-
neral description of, *ibid* Are distinguished by the manufac-
ture of sail cloth, and cedar built ships 80 A Society
formed there for the promotion of agriculture and mechanical
arts *ibid*

Besi, Captain, his engagement with the Portuguese fleet at Surat,
1 372

Betel, a description of this plant, and it's use among the Indians,
1 262

Bey of Egypt their promotion and authority described, 1v 9

Bilovei, in Louisiana, description of that district, v 241 A large
colony left there to destruction by the famous Mississippi Com-
pany, 246

Birds, doubts suggested as to the nature of their language, 1 273
Nests why an article of East India trade, 306

Bisnagar, causes of the decline of the empire of, 1 453.

Bison, the nature and properties of this animal well calculated for
the use of the Caribbee islands, 1v 154

Bissenpaur a district in the province of Bengal the primitive sys-
tem of Indian government and manners preserved there unadul-
terated, 1 473 Natural strength of the country against invasi-
on, 474 Liberty and property sacred there and beneficence
to strangers universal, 475 The reality of this beautiful cha-
racter doubtful after all that has been said, 476

Boribay, the island described, 1 447 The unwholesomeness of
the climate corrected by the fish, *ibid* Number and in-
dustry of the inhabitants, *ibid* It's present improvements and
commercial intercourse 450 It's revenue 451

Bonzes of China, how preserved from propagating superstition,
1 149

Borax, the nature and use of this mineral 1 490

Borneo, general account of this island and ill success of the Portu-
guese in their attempts to settle on it 1 248 A trade for pep-
per established there by the Dutch, *ibid* A new English settle-
ment at Batinbangan destroyed 471

Boseltoer a Dutch factor, becomes prime minister to the king of
Ceylon 11 201 Engages the Danes in a trading voyage to that
island, and dies, 201

- Boston*, the capital of New England, described, v. 450. The harbour, 451. The port shut up, for riots on account of the tea tax, vi. 154.
- Bourbon*, the island of, settled by the French, ii. 106. Present state of, 175.
- Bourdanais* is sent by the French government to improve the Isle of France, ii. 107. His great naval abilities and experience, *ibid.* His judicious regulations for the support of the colony, 108. His scheme to secure the sovereignty of the Indian seas, 111. Takes Madras 112. Returns to Europe, and is imprisoned, 113.
- Boyle*, Mr. curious reason given by him for preaching Christianity to savages, iii. 540.
- Bradlock*, General, account of his unfortunate expedition to Fort Duquesne, v. 324.
- Brama*, the legislator of Indostan, mythological account of him, i. 49. His institutions, 67. Remarks on his policy, 79. His religion divided into numerous sects, 86.
- Brahmins*, instance of the inviolable secrecy they preserve with regard to their religious tenets, i. 48. Communicate them to Mr. Hastings, the British governor-general of Bengal, *ibid.* Summary of their religious principles, 49. Foundation of the distinction of castes, 51. Their chronological account of the ages of the world, 52. Their language, 53. Civil laws, 55. Characteristical remarks on their doctrines and policy, 66. The different orders of, 67. Are addicted to metaphysical controversies, 68. Account of the ancient Brachmans, from whom they are descended, 69.
- Brandy*, inordinate love of the North America Indians for, and it's pernicious effects on them, v. 218.
- Brazil*, first discovery of, and it's boundaries, iii. 312. How it obtained it's present name, 313. Is despised, and made a receptacle for felons, 315. Grants in, made to Portuguese noble-men, 318. Manners and customs of the natives, 320. Were destitute of religion, 321. Summary method of punishing murder there, 322. Their marriages and women, 323. Their hospitality, 324. Their motives to war, 327. Their treatment of prisoners, 328. Are civilized by the Jesuits, 330. Attempts made by the French to form settlements, 334. Dialogue between a Brazilian and a Frenchman, *ibid.* Incursion of the Dutch, 336. Fernambucca taken, 339. The whole coast reduced by Prince Maurice, *ibid.* Affairs of, under the Dutch administration, 348. A conspiracy formed against the Dutch, 350. They are expelled, 352. History of the trade of this province, 370. The trade subjected to a monopoly, 373. Civil, military, and religious government of Brazil, *ibid.* Condition of the Negroe slaves there, 378. Historical view of the situation of the Indian natives, 377. The natives declared free citizens, 379. This emancipation little attended to, 381. Description of the government of Para, 382. Of Maragman, 386. Of

- Of Pernambuco, 388 Of Bahia, 391 Account of the whale fishery, 394 Culture and trade of tobacco *ibid* Government of Rio Janeiro, 397 Island of St Catherine, 401 Town of St Paul, 402 Three interior governments, 405 The gold mines 406 Diamonds discovered there, 417 Regulations imposed on the search of, and trade with, *ibid* In what state they are found, 419. Other gems found, 420 Other mines neglected, *ibid* Impositions by which the province is depressed, 421 Commercial intercourse of, with other countries, 422 With Africa, *ibid* With Madeira, 423 Improvements recommended in this colony, 441. Amount of the population there, 444 The province might be improved by receiving foreigners, *ibid* But the inquisition must then be abolished, 445
- Brazil wood* description of the tree that produces it, iii 389 The trade of this wood monopolized *ibid*
- Bread tree* of the Marianne Islands described, ii 524
- Brezer*, land and sea, in the Caribbee Islands, described, with their causes, iii 468
- British Islands* anciently traded to by the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Gauls, i 354 Why the natives were not much improved under the dominion of the Romans 356 Are afterwards ravaged by a succession of northern invaders, *ibid* See *England*
- Brunswick*, the only port of North Carolina, vi 67
- Buccaniers*, who derivation of their name, and their plan of association iii 484 Their dress and employments, 485 Are harassed by the Spaniards 487 Are reduced to cultivate their lands for subsistence, 488 Receive a governor from France, *ibid* Their manner of addressing the women sent them *ibid* Narrative of some of their remarkable exploits against the Spaniards, 494 Their riotous course of life, 498 History of some of the most distinguished Buccaneers, 502 Remarks on this singular community of plunderers 519
- Buddhists* a Japanese sect their tenets, i 179
- Euenos Ayres* the foundation of that town laid by Mendoza, iii 188 It is rebuilt, 190 The province of, separated from Paraguay 193 Description of the town and inhabitants, 194 Great trade carried on by the sale of mules, 198 Its intercourse with Paraguay how conducted, 199 A packet boat and post established, 200.
- Buffalo* described, iv 154 Recommended for propagation in the Caribbee Islands 155
- Burgoyne* General, his daring expedition from Canada, through the ~~interior~~ parts of North America, to New York, iii 206 Is reduced by General Gates at Saratoga, 207
- But* of the living with the dead, a practice probably derived from the doctrine of the resurrection i 80
- Burns* of living wives with their dead husbands, in India, a practice founded in their civil code, i 61 81

Buffy, M. establishes Salabat Jing in the government of the De-
can, ii. 136.
Byng, Admiral, remarks on his execution, iii. 548.

C.

Cabot, Sebastian, discovers the river Plata, iii. 187.
Cabral, Alvarez, his expedition to the East Indies, i. 92. Was
the first discoverer of Brazil, iii. 313.
Caca tree described, iii. 61. Method of gathering the nuts, and
preparing the kernels for making chocolate, 62. Culture of
the tree, and where chiefly propagated, 63.
Calcutta, the principal English settlement in Bengal, described, i.
487. Cruel treatment of the English there by the Soubah, 502.
Calicut formerly the richest staple of the East, i. 90. Is disco-
vered by Vasco de Gama, 91. Arrival and transactions of Al-
vares Cabral, 92. The government of that country de-
scribed, 433.
California, the gulph and coast of, explored in 1746, by the Je-
suit Ferdinand Confang, ii. 484. This peninsula described,
533. Its climate and produce, *ibid.* Account of the inhabit-
ants, 534. An unsuccessful expedition undertaken by Cortez to
this country, 537. The natives civilized by the Jesuits, 538.
The Jesuits expelled by the Spaniards, 541.
Callio, the port of, destroyed by an earthquake and inundation,
iii. 48.
Camel, how educated and treated in Arabia, and its qualities de-
scribed, i. 396.
Camphor, is produced in the northern parts of the Island of Suma-
tra, i. 251. Botanical description of the tree which produces
it, *ibid.* How the camphor is extracted, with its proper-
ties, 252.
Campeachy, the logwood there superior to that in the gulph of
Honduras, ii. 558.
Canada, or New France, general description of the country, as it
appeared at the first settlement of it, v. 146. Character and
manners of the original native, 151. Their languages, 151.
Their mode of government, 153. Their disposition toward
Europeans, 156. Their marriages and treatment of their wo-
men, 158. The reason of their not increasing in numbers in-
quired into, 159. Their affection for their children, 162.
Their warmth of friendship, 164. Their songs and dances,
165. Their propensity to gaming, 166. Their religious no-
tions, 167. Their wars, 170. Their method of choosing a
chief to command them, 171. Their military harangues, 172.
Their weapons, 174. Their sagacity in circumventing their ene-
mies, 175. Their treatment of prisoners, 176. Account of
the war between the Iroquo's and Algonquins, 182. Cause of
the small progress made by the French in settling this country,
185. The colony reinforced by troops, to protect the settlers
against

against the savages, 189 Account of the fur trade carried on with the Indians, and description of the various animals hunted for their skins, 197 The English interfere in the fur trade, 213 State of this country at the peace of Utrecht, 291 Description of Quebec, 292 Trois Rivières, and Montreal, 293 The colony injured by the equal partition of inheritances, 294 A judgment to be formed of the soil of, by its natural produce 296 General circumstances of the inhabitants, *ibid*. Situation and occasion of erecting Fort Frontenac, 297 Fort Niagara, *ibid* The district called the Streight, *ibid* Manners of the French colonists, 298 The inhabitants of the cities, 299 Form of government, 300 Revenue laws and tenure of lands, 301 Exactions of the clergy, 302 Manufactures and fisheries, 303 Exports of, 305 Account of the French paper currency, *ibid* Expences of government, 307 Advantages that France might have derived from Canada, 309 The iron mines neglected, 310 The timber mismanaged, 311 The fur trade driven into the hands of the English, 312 The whale fishery abandoned by the French, 313 A cod fishery, might be carried on in the river St Lawrence, 314 The disputes of the colonists with the Indians give all their ideas a military turn, 315 Origin of the disputes between the French and English in this colony, 316 Defeat of General Braddock, 324 Other disasters attending the English, 325 Inverecacy of the Indians against the English, 328 Siege of Quebec, 329 Attempt of the French to retake the town, 331 The whole colony ceded to the English, 333 Government of this country under the English, 384 Reformation of the criminal laws, *ibid* Its religious establishment, 386 Increase of population, 387 State of manufactures trade, and fishery, *ibid* Cultivation and exports, 388 Indications of prosperity, 389 Is checked by a want of inland navigation, and the long stoppage of the river St Lawrence, 390

Canara on the confines of Malabar, causes of the decline of that country, 1 441

Canary Islands described, 1 409 Why Ptolemy fixed the first meridian there, 410 Attracted by Berencourt, *ibid* Their productions, 411 Number of their inhabitants *ibid* Their trade, *ibid* The inhabitants not depressed *ibid*

Candylaly myrtle, description of this tree, and its fruit, vi 96 Its uses 97

Canton the harbour of described, with the nature of the intercourse carried on between Europeans and the Chinese, 1 320

Cap Breton the settlement of by the French opposed by the English 225 The island described, 226 The harbour at Fort Dauphin 227 The harbour of Louisbourg, *ibid* The town - Descriptions of Louisbourg 228 The soil of the island unfit for culture 229 Abounds with wood and coal, 230 The education of the inhabitants confined to the cod fishery, *ibid* Exports

- ports of the inhabitants to the other French islands, 231 Is taken by New England troops, 317 Is taken again by Boscowen and Amherst, 319. Is neglected by the English, 391. Abounds in coal 392.
- Cape St Francis*, on the island of St Domingo, origin of that town iv 455 The town described, 456 The hospital called La Providence, *ibid* Is the most healthful town in the main parts of the colony, 458 The harbour, *ibid*
- Cape Horn*, the passage round, into the South Sea, discovered by the Dutch, iii. 163 Is now used by the Spaniards in preference to the Straights of Magellan, 104 But only at certain seasons, 184
- Cape of Good Hope*, first doubled by the Portuguese, and the origin of its name, i 37 Is settled by the Dutch 271 The manners and customs of the native Hottentots described, 272 General description of the country, 279 The soil barren, 280 The Cape Town, *ibid* Vineyards, 281 Political grievances of the Dutch settlers, 283 Their manners, *ibid* Their numbers, 284 The colony depressed by intolerance, *ibid* The slaves humanely treated, 285 Remarks on the policy of the Dutch in the regulation of this colony, 287 might easily be reduced by an enemy, 341
- Cape de Verd Islands* See *Verd*
- Caracas*, account of the district and town of, iii 66
- Cardamom*, description of that plant, its properties and uses, i 437
- Cariacou*, one of the Grenadine Islands, how settled, and its productions v 89
- Carrick Islands*, a general view of, and their distinction into Windward and Leeward Islands iii 456 Remarks on the direction in which they lie 459 The direction of the rivers, 460 Evidence of their having been separated from the continent, 461 Their soil *ibid* Their natural vegetable productions, 462 The native animals, 465 Their climate and seasons 467 General course of the winds, 468 Land and sea breezes *ibid* Rafts, 469 Expedients for preserving flour there from spoiling 470 Whirlpools, 471 Their hurricanes 472 The native Caribs, their manners and customs 475 Their entertainments and wars 479 Why the Spaniards relinquished the intention of conquering them 480 St Christopher settled by the English and French, 481 Partition of the other islands between the English and French, 484 The native Caribs collected in Dominica and St Vincent's, *ibid* Origin and history of the Buccaneers, *ibid* These islands cannot thrive in time of war, 509. Motives for the destruction of civilizing them by Negro slaves iv 1 Remarks on the loss of these islands, 148 A general use of the plough recommended in them, 150 How to provide manure for them 151 Management of cattle there, 152 How the degeneracy of Creole plantations might be prevented, 153 The Linnæa and Buffalo recommended to produce grain

gation there, 154. Vegetable productions common there, 156. Principal articles of cultivation for commerce, 159. Sugar the principal article of exportation from these islands, 174. Europeans degenerate there no less than other animals, *ibid.* Description and character of the Creoles, 176. General character of the inhabitants of these islands, 177. The women, 178. Disorders to which Europeans are liable there, 182. Averages of the deaths of Europeans there, 185. Great improvement of these islands, and the advantages derived from them by the nations who possess them, 187. Fatal errors committed by the first cultivators of these islands, v. 94. The best plan for establishing a new colony, *ibid.* St. Vincent and Dominica resigned to the native Caribs by the English and French, 97. Their manners, *ibid.* Distinctions between the black and red Caribs, 98. Origin of the flat-headed Caribs, 99. General character and review of the circumstances of the British islands, 120. Summary view of the riches which Europe derives from the possession and cultivation of these islands, 128. Extensive operations of the trade with them, 129. Anticipation of their future destiny, 131. A navy the only security for the possession of these islands, 134. See these islands under their respective names.

Carnatic, contests between the English and French about the appointment of a nabob, ii. 137.

Carolina, discovered by the Spaniards, but neglected, vi. 56. Is granted by Charles II. to certain proprietors, *ibid.* A plan of government for, drawn up by Mr. Locke, *ibid.* Remarks on this plan, 57. The province bought out of the hands of the proprietors, and its government regulated, 61. Is divided into North and South Carolina, *ibid.* Description of the country and climate, 62. North Carolina, and its inhabitants, *ibid.* Present number of the people, 63. Is chiefly peopled by Scots Highlanders, *ibid.* Their first employments, 66. Brunswick the only port on the coast, 67. Rice and indigo the chief productions of South Carolina, *ibid.* Number of inhabitants in South Carolina, and the amount of their exports, 69. Their ostentatious funerals, and purchased elogiums on the dead, 70. Towns in South Carolina, 71. Present state of the two Carolinas, 72. Ineffectual attempts to produce silk there, 110.

Carthage, its advantage over Tyre, its mother state, i. 5. Cause of its subversion, 6. Extended its trade to Britain, i. 354.

Cartagena, province of, in America, described, and its productions, iii. 51. History of, since its discovery by the Spaniards, 52. The capital city of, and its inhabitants, described, *ibid.* Unwholesomeness of the climate, 53. Account of the harbour, 56. Trade carried on there by the galleons, *ibid.*

Cartier, James, a Frenchman, first sails up the river St. Lawrence, in North America, v. 144.

Carnajal, the confident of Gonzales Pizarro, his character and death, iii. 46.

- Casat*, Bartholomew de Las, his benevolent character and conduct, iii 72 His plan for a colony, 73 Obtains the district of Cumana to carry it into execution, *ibid* Causes of his ill success, 74 His zealous solicitations in favour of the native Indians, 230
- Caspian Sea*, a philosophical account of, i 39 Anciently the track of communication between Europe and Asia, ii 292 Motives that induced the English to attempt a passage to Persia by this sea, 293. Projected canal to connect this with the Euxine sea, 301
- Cassava*, a dangerous article of food, iv 115
- Cassia lignea*, the tree described, and the qualities of the bark, i 438
- Cassimbazar*, the general market for Bengal silk, i 491
- Castr*, Indan, foundation of those distinctions, i 51 74
- Castro*, Don Juan de, the Portuguese viceroy in India, his character and wise administration, i 188, Raises the siege of Diu, 189. His triumphal return to Goa, 190
- Castro*, Vasco di is sent out from Spain, to regulate the administration of affairs in Peru, iii 40 Reduces and puts to death Almagro the younger, 41
- Catlarine*, St island, of, in the government of Rio Janeiro, described, iii 401 Becomes a nest of pirates, *ibid* Who have at length submitted to an orderly government, 402
- Catharine II* empress of Russia, the wise and politic principles of her government iii 310 Examination of the measures taken by her to civilize her subjects, vi 281
- Cato the elder*, the first subverter of the liberty of ancient Rome, vi 243
- Cayenne*, the island of, settled by some French adventurers, iv 330. Revolution of, 1331 Description of, 332 Its productions and trade, 333 Is not in a prosperous state, 334 Amount of its exports to France, 460
- Cayes*, the town of, in St Domingo, described, ii. 437 Improvements suggested for this town 438
- Cajlus*, Count, attributes the invention of porcelain to the ancient Egyptians, ii 327
- Celebes*, description of that island and its inhabitants, i 242 Conduct of the king on the arrival of Christian and Mahomedan missionaries, 245 The dominion of the island seized by the Dutch, 247 Their motive for retaining it, 248
- Celibacy*, clerical, a great obstacle to population, vi 473
- Ceylon*, the island, government and inhabitants described i 116 The Dutch assist the king of Candy to drive out the Portuguese, 259 The various productions of that island, 260 Revenue and customs of, 265 The terms to which the Dutch have reduced the king of Candy, *ibid* Hints of policy recommended to the Dutch for improving their settlements there, 268
- Chico*, in South America extent of that province, iii 190 Its rivers and inhabitants, *ibid*
- Charderragere,

- *Chander nagore*, a French settlement in Bengal described, i. 458.
It's great improvements under the government of Duplex,
ii. 109
- *Chapetors* in Spanish America, who, iii. 222.
- *Charities*, public, reflections on the abuse of, iv. 457.
- *Charlemagne*, his contests with the Normans and Arabs, i. 73.
• Revives a spirit of industry and trade in his subjects, ii. 5.
His empire dismembered, 6
- *Charles I.* of England, succeeds to his father's contests with his
subjects on prerogative, v. 5. Review of the civil war be-
tween him and his parliament, 11. Promotes the episcopal
splendour of the clergy, 348. Attempts the establishment of
prelacy in Scotland, *ibid.*
- *Charles II.* king of England, his character, and injudicious conduct
towards his East India Company, i. 380
- *Charles V.* Emperor, his rivalry with Francis I. the origin of
the present system of European policy, vi. 357. Compared
with Lewis XIV. 359
- *Charles VII.* of France, the first who retained a standing army,
vi. 375. Ought to have been attacked by all the princes in
Europe for this innovation, 376.
- *Charles XI.* king of Sweden, his character and administration of
government, ii. 246.
- *Charlestown*, South Carolina, described, vi. 71.
- *Chatigan*, on the coast of Bengal, described, ii. 167. An ex-
change of, for Chander nagore, recommended to the French and
English, 168
- *Clriban*, in the island of Java, view of the profitable trade carried
on by the Dutch with that state, i. 294.
- *Cheapeak Bay*, general description of, vi. 40.
- *Cheys*, the financiers of Indostan, an account of, i. 485.
- *Chiapa de los Indios*, a city in Mexico, character of it's inhabitants,
ii. 546.
- *Chica*, a Peruvian liquor, how made, iii. 121.
- *Chickasaw*, native Indians of Louisiana, account of, and their
war with the French, v. 260
- *Child*, Sir Josias, iniquitous conduct of him and his brother to-
ward the English East India Company, i. 381.
- *Child birth*, why the consequences of, not so bad among savages,
as in civilized society, iii. 323.
- *Chili*, extent and situation of, iii. 170. Is first penetrated by Al-
magro, 171. Who is followed by Valdivia, 172. Valdivia
and his men cut off, 173. Continual hostilities between the
natives and the Spaniards, *ibid.* Manners of the natives, *ibid.*
Their antipathy to the Spaniards, 174. Settlements formed by
the Spaniards in the country, 175. Serenity of the climate, and
fertility of the soil, 178. Revenues derived from, 179. Trade
of, 180. It's intercourse with Peru and Paraguay, 183. How
deprived of an immediate connection with Spain, 185. Free
trade now allowed with Spain, *ibid.*

Chiles, the islands of, settled, and the natives civilized, by the Je-

su 3 in 177

China, the first knowledge of, communicated to Europe by Mark Paul the Venetian, 133 Arrival of an ambassador from Portugal there, *ibid* Contrary characters given of their country, and first by the admirers of it, 134 Its circuit, 135 Indefatigable industry of the inhabitants, *ibid* Their attention to agriculture, 136 Agriculture recommended to the people by the example of the emperor, 140 Liberality of the political institutions, 141 Taxes, *ibid* Population, 143 Government, 144 The emperors cautious of a wanton exercise of authority, *ibid* His government patriarchal, 145 Paternal authority, and filial affection, the springs of the empire, 146 Nobility not hereditary, *ibid* Nature of the title of Mandarin, 147 All officers of state chosen from the order of Mandarins, *ibid* Principles taught by Confucius, 149 Foundation of the national religion, 150 Manner of educating children, *ibid* Character of the natives, 151 Are strongly actuated by a spirit of patriotism, 152 Are recovering from the influence of their Tartarian government, *ibid* The spirit of invention among them how stifled, 153 The low state of learning and arts among them accounted for, 154 The character of the Chinese as given by those who judge uncharitably of them, 155 Their laws not proved to be wise by being adopted by the Tartar conquerors, 156 Its population, to what owing, 157 Usual with parents to destroy their children, 158 The morals of the people depraved, 159 Their cruelty, *ibid* Despotism of the government, 160 Their mode of educating children absurd, 166 Are fraudulent in their dealings, 167 The populousness of the country a calamity, 170 Their religious toleration partial, 172 The accounts given of the Chinese hyperbolical and inconsistent, 173 Conclusions from the whole 174 Factories established by the Portuguese, 176 The island of Macao granted to the Portuguese, *ibid* Inter-
course betwixt the Chinese and Latavia 305 Account of the great wall of China 1103 The industry and fraudulent disposition of the Chinese referred to their country being too populous 35 Expedients of the government to furnish current coin 316 Their trade with Corea, and with the Tartars 317 Their great sendrels for the root ginseng, *ibid* Their trade with Japan and other eastern nations 319 Remarks on their contrivances for amusements, *ibid* Their trade with Europeans limited to the port of Canton 340 Description, customs and varieties of the tea plant 321 The antiquity of this empire compared with that of Egypt 326 A particular account of the manufacture and different kinds of porcelain, 327 Chinese account of the discovery of silk, 336 The silk supererogatory produce in Europe 338 The two principal kinds of, brought over 39 Excellence and defects of the silk manufacture 340 Natural history of the Chinese varnish, 341

- How used, 343 Its properties, *ibid* Their paper, 344
 Their drawing and painting 345 Their sculpture and models, 346 Character of their rhubarb, 349 Inquiry into the gold and silver trade with, 350 Their treatment of the Portuguese at Macao, 351 Present state of their intercourse with the Dutch, 352 Their trade with the English, 353 With France, 354 With the Danes and Swedes, *ibid* Summary view of the amount of their commercial dealings with Europeans, *ibid* General remarks on, 355 Political inquiry into the merits of the trade with China, and into the proper mode of conducting it, 356
- Chivalry*, reflections on the tendency of the spirit of, i 130
- Chocolate*, description of the tree and the nuts from which it is made in 61
- Christianity*, causes which favoured the reception of, among the Romans vi 252 Sources of its corruption, 254 Leading causes of the reformation, 256 Requires support from the civil magistrate 257 Historical view of the system of ecclesiastical policy founded upon, 331. Ought to be subordinate to the civil power, 344
- Christopher's*, St the island settled jointly by the English and French, iii 481 The native Caribs expelled, 482 Is resigned to the English by the peace of Utrecht, iv 327 Occasion of the dissensions between the first French and English inhabitants, v 33 Is long neglected by the English after the expulsion of the French, 4 The island and its inhabitants described, *ibid*. Its produce, 35 Anecdotes of Negro slaves there, *ibid*
- Cinnabar* the constituent parts of that mineral, iii 142. Quick-silver how separated from it, 143
- Cinnamon tree* botanical description of, i 263 Methods of taking off the bark and its qualities, 264
- Cities* trade free by commerce i 18 The support of, derived from agriculture vi 446 Origin of 469
- Civil Law of Great Britain*, cause of its diffuseness and perplexity, vi 135
- Civil wars*, the origin of, iii 37. The issues of, when victorious suitable to the motives 43
- Clergy*, inquiry into the best mode of maintaining them, iii 445 Must be made subordinate to the civil magistrate, to prevent the subversion of a state, 447 A set of men useless, at best, to the earth, and the most dreadful enemies to a nation when they disgrace their profession, vi 447 The most respectable of them, those who are most despised and burdened with duty, 448 Their unenable domains an obstruction to population, 470
- Climate* its influence on religion, i 43 Philosophical remarks on, and inferences from, v 354 Forms the character, complexion, and manners of nations vi 458 Determines the species of manufactures in a country, *ibid* Is improved by agriculture, 465

- Cloves*, first discovered in the Molucca Islands by the Chinese, i. 128. Botanical description of the tree, and its culture, 232. Properties of the clove, 234. Are cultivated at Amboyna, under Dutch authority, *ibid.*
- Cloysters*, antiently the seats of manufactures, ii. 3. Naturally tend to accumulate wealth, 4.
- Cochin*, on the Malabar coast, account of that kingdom, i. 433.
- Cochin China*, French account of that empire and its inhabitants, ii. 58. Productions and manufactures of the country, *ibid.* Amiable disposition of the natives, *ibid.* Equity of their first system of government, 59. Progress of corruption in their government, 60. View of their trade, 61. Causes of the French losing the advantages of this market, 63.
- Cocaineal*, a production peculiar to Mexico, ii. 497. Natural history of, 498. Description of the shrub on which they breed, 499. How cultivated, 500. How gathered, 501. Method of killing and preserving them, 502. Is introduced in St. Domingo, 504.
- Cocoa tree*, natural history of, i. 125. Its fruit, and the properties of it, 126.
- Cod*, the fish described, v. 397. A fishery for, carried on in the northern seas of Europe, 398. Account of the fishery at Newfoundland, 399. Method of curing the cod, 405. Rise of the English, and decline of the French fisheries, 414.
- Coffee*, where originally found, with an account of the discovery of its properties, i. 399. Where now cultivated, 403. Much used in, and great exports of, from Arabia, *ibid.* Introduced into the Caribbee Islands from the East, *ib.* 163. The tree and its berries described, *ibid.* Method of cultivating it, *ibid.* Manner of preparing the berries for sale, 164.
- Coffee-Tousses*, the origin of, i. 400. In Ecdual attempt to suppress them at Constantinople, 401. Are opened in London, 402.
- Colbert*, M. forms a French East India Company, ii. 12. His character as a financier, 81. Mistakes in his administration pointed out, iv. 318. Subjects the French colonies to the oppressions of an exclusive company, 319.
- Cold*, the various effects produced by, in Hudson's Bay, v. 367.
- Coligny*, Admiral, first directed the attention of the French to settle in North America, v. 138.
- Colonies*, why they submit readily to an invader, iii. 554. Distant, ought not to be left in the hands of chartered companies, iv. 278. General remarks on the establishment of, 312. Distant colonies cannot long be retained by any government, 313. Reflections on the neglect shewn by mother-countries to their distant settlements, 450. Different notions of colonization, *ibid.* The best plan for establishing a new colony, v. 94. The objects of attention in the formation of, 132. The moral system of, 133. Remarks on the defects in the political constitutions of the British American Colonies, 136.

Colambus, Christopher, sets out on his voyage from Spain for the discovery of a new continent, ii 109 Arrives at the Canary Islands, *ibid* Arrives at the Bahama Islands, 111 His friendly intercourse with the natives, *ibid* Discovers St Domingo, 415 Erects a fort, and leaves a garrison there, 418 Returns to Spain, *ibid* His second voyage, 419 Is attacked by the natives of St Domingo, whom he defeats, 420 Barbarities exercised there by the Spaniards, 422 Carries a colony of malefactors to St Domingo, 425 Is brought back to Spain in irons, 426 Des, *ibid* Remarks on his hard fate, *ibid*

Comedy traced the origin of, i 27

Comets, have probably given this earth occasional shocks in traversing it's orbit, ii 435 And produced those great alterations that have taken place on it's surface, 436 Superstition traced from such extraordinary events, *ibid*

Commerce, the source of all improvements and civilization, i 4 Introduce it's own destruction, 7. Was revived first in Europe by the Arabs, 13 Greatly depressed under the feudal system of government 15 Formation of the Hanseatic league, 17 Historical account of the trade to India, 95 The operations of, philosophically considered, ii 359 The spirit of finance always injurious to, iv 300 Defined, vi 404 Historical deduction of the progress of, *ibid* Consequences of the discovery of the East and West Indies to Spain, Portugal, and Holland, 406 Rise of the Dutch commerce, *ibid* How improved by the English, 409 Complexion of the French commerce, *ibid* Nature of the German commerce, with the obstacles to it, 411 Iron, an advantageous article of commerce to the northern nations, 412 The happy operations of commercial industry, 413 Character of a merchant, with his necessary objects of attention, 414 Instructions to merchants 418 Remarks on the political shackles imposed on trade, 427 A free trade among all nations would cause all nations to prosper, 434 The mutual correspondence between trade and agriculture, 436

Crimes, list of in England, origin and growth of, vi 296 Advantages of it as representative body to the people, 301 It's defects pointed out, 306

Cure astringent in the 2^d and 3^d channel, described, i 495

Cymel, the invention of, first applied to navigation by prince Henry of Portugal i 30 Great improvements in navigation produced by, i 30

Concurrence, *wh. of. in. Ch. in. 1801*, *ibid*, 12, 175

Condemns, 211 Account of Persian tortifications, i 31

Confucius the Chinese legislator, an account of his religious and political principles i 149

Conque, the only trade to be left again ii 110

Constantine the Great the founder of the ecclesiastical domination of the church of Rome i 255

Constantinople, the last commerce transferred from Al-zar i 110

- that city, i. 101. Causes that produced it's destruction, 103.
 Inheritance how secured there, iii. 152.
Central and trade, originates in tyranny, vi. 141.
Cook, captain, the result of his last voyage referred to, for determining the question of a north-west passage to the East Indies, v. 382.
Coches, an account of that people, i. 69.
Copenhagen, general account of that city, iv. 305.
Coptes of Egypt, account of those people, iv. 66.
Copper, peculiar art of the ancient Peruvians in manufacturing it, ii. 35.
Cordeleiras mountains, the course of, described, i. 486. Give rise to the great river Oconoko, iii. 74. Their stupendous size a source of astonishment, 98. Philosophical inquiry after their origin, 99. Exhibit evidences of having been volcanos, 103. Descriptive particulars relating to them, 104. Their vegetable productions, 105. Animals peculiar to these mountains, 123.
Coromandel, coast of, general account of it's productions and inhabitants, i. 119. Progress of the Dutch settlements there, 268. This country, why neglected by Europeans at their first arrival in India, 452. On what ideas the first European colonies there were established, 454. Account of their cotton manufactures, 455. Nature and amount of the trade carried on there by Europeans, 459. Possessions of the English on this coast, 461. Cudalore, *ibid.* Masulipatan, 462. Territories in the Decan, 464. Account of Madras, 465. The province of Bengal, 471. English method of collecting revenues there, 511.
Corporations, trading, injurious to industry, i. 360.
Corregidor, his office in Peru, iii. 237.
Cortez, Fernando, is deputed by Velasquez to undertake the conquest of Mexico, ii. 431. His force in ships and men, *ibid.* Reduces the natives of Tabasco, 432. Account of his Indian mistress Marina, 433. His negotiations with Montezuma, 438. Burns his ships, and marches towards the city of Mexico, *ibid.* Meets with opposition from the natives of Tlascala, 439. Makes an alliance with the Tlascalars, who assist him with men, 441. Is charmed with the glittering ornaments of the Mexican buildings, 442. Arrests the emperor, 443. Defeats Narvaez, who was sent to supersede him, and associates his men, 444. Insurrection of the Mexicans against the Spaniards, 446. Dangers attending his retreat to Tlascala, 448. Owes his safety to seizing the Mexican royal standard, 449. Reduces the Mexican provinces, 452. Discovers a conspiracy among his troops to assassinate him, *ibid.* Reduces the capital city of Mexico, 453. His brutal treatment of the emperor Guzmanozin, 455. Regulations made by him on subduing the country, 468. His character, *ibid.* 469.

- Cotton* manufacture and trade on the coast of Coromandel, curious particulars relative to, i. 455. 492.
- Cotton* shrub, method of cultivating, iv. 161. Description of its flowers and pods, 162. The cotton here free from seeds, *ibid.*
- Country*, native, the love of, a salutary sentiment, iii. 321.
- Courage* is diminished by the increase of soldiers, vi. 385.
- Currencies*, a principal article of export from the Maldivia islands, i. 427. Why used as coin by the Chinese, ii. 316.
- Crab* Island described, iv. 297. English and Danish attempts to settle on it prevented by the Spaniards, who make no use of it themselves, *ibid.*
- Credit* defined, and its operations explained, vi. 512. Private and public distinguished, 513. Why England, Holland, and France, are the nations that owe the greatest sums on public credit, 514. Why those nations which have most resources are most in debt, *ibid.* Arguments in favour of contracting public debts considered, 516. The ruinous tendency of borrowing on public credit shewn, 518. Consequences of national bankruptcy, 519.
- Crestles* in Spanish America, who, and their character, iii. 222. Of the Caribbee Islands, description and character of, iv. 176, 179.
- Cornwall*, Oliver, the motives of his entering into a war with the Dutch, i. 378. His stipulations with them regarding East India affairs, *ibid.* His motives for attacking the Spaniards in the West Indies, iii. 489.
- Cronstadt*, the harbour of Petersburgh described, ii. 306.
- Crosat*, a French merchant, obtains an exclusive grant of the trade of Louisiana, v. 242. Resigns his charter, *ibid.*
- Crusades*, those romantic undertakings favourable to the civil liberties of Europe, i. 110. And to commerce, vi. 405, 452.
- Crusade*, a tax levied in Spain, and on the Spanish American colonies, iii. 248. Reflections on the privileges purchased by it, 249.
- Cuba*, its first discovery, situation, and extent, iv. 214. Unfortunate history of the creek Hayney, 215. Motives that led to the first settlement of the Spaniards at Hayannah, 217. A company formed to trade with, *ibid.* Spanish Government, 218. Present number of inhabitants, 226. Produce, *ibid.* Articles of exportation, 227. Bees introduced there, and furnish great quantities of wax, 228. The culture of tobacco checked, *ibid.* Commerce, 230. Revenue, *ibid.* Cedar ships built there, 231. Account of Hayannah and its harbour, *ibid.* Strength of the fortifications, and how to be attacked, 232.
- Cubagua*, or Pearl island, account of, iv. 191. The pearl fishery there exhausted, 194. Reasons why the Spaniards retain it, *ibid.* Character of the present inhabitants, 195.
- Cudjore*, on the coast of Coromandel purchased and improved by the English, i. 462. Employment of the natives, *ibid.*

- Cumana*, the coast of discovered, and the conduct of the first Spanish adventurers there, iii 72 The district of, granted to I s Casas to colonize, 73 Causes of his ill success, 74. Present state of the settlement *ibid*
- Curassou*, the island of, taken from the Spaniards, by the Dutch, described, iv 246 Nature of the trade carried on there, 255 Duties paid on commodities there, 256
- Curcuma*, or Indian saffron, description and uses of that plant, i 436
- Cusco* the ancient capital city of Peru, described, iii 119 Present number of inhabitants, 120
- Customs*, general, inquire, into the origin of, i 274.

D

- Dagobert* king of France, in the seventh century, excite a spirit of industry and trade among his subjects, ii 5
- D Aguare*, a Spanish adventurer, his plundering expedition into the interior parts of South America, and desperate conduct, iii 358.
- Dais* of Japan, the nature of his dignity and office, i. 177.
- Dances*, the movements of, more significant among rude nations than in polished society, v 165.
- Darien*, the gulph of, discovered by Columbus, iii 3 The province of, becomes a place of refuge for Spanish adventurers, who had been defeated and dispersed in their attempts on the continent of America, 5 Peculiar customs of the natives, 6. The country described, 49 Arrival of a colony of Scots, 50. Their settlement prevented by political influence, *ibid* Unsuccessful attempt of the Spaniards to colonize this district, 51 The isthmus ought to be cut through to open a communication with the South Sea, 305
- Dauphin* island, at the mouth of the Mobile, described, v 241
- Debt*, reflections on imprisonment for, i. 406. Regulations proposed to check the contracting of, iv 302
- Deity*, pagan, the probable origin of, iii 325
- Delavac*, lord, relieves the distressed colonists in Virginia, vi. 42 His character, *ibid*
- Demerary*, account of the Dutch settlement there, iv 2-6.
- Denmark* pituitous expeditions of the ancient inhabitants of, ii. 199 Their disposition to plunder accounted for, 200 Their native hieroglyphs improved by the sanguinary religion of Wodm, *ibid* Their morals corrected by conversion to Christianity *ibid* Turn their attention to industry and trade, 201. Engage in a trading voyage to Ceylon, 202 Form a settlement in Tangour, *ibid* An East India Company established after the failure of two preceding attempts 205 Present constitution of the company, 210 Regulations of the trade to China, 214. The circumstances of this nation not favourable to an extensive East India trade, 217 A Danish settlement, formed in Guinea for a slave trade, under

- an exclusive company, iv 99. Character of their agent Schulerop, 100 Cap ain Munk's attempt to find a north-west passage into the Pacific Ocean, 293 The Danes throw themselves under the power of the king, to escape that of their nobles, 294. Settle the island of St Thomas, 295 Purchase the island of Santa Cruz, 300 Review of the productions and trade of their American islands, 302 Review of the European dominions of, 304 Climate of, 306. Number of inhabitants, 307 Species of taxes levied on them, *ibid* Naval strength of the kingdom, 308 Regulations proposed for its improvement, 309
- Danoville*, governor of Canada, his treacherous treatment of the Iroquois, v. 191
- Descartes* his character vi 542
- Descada*, account of that island, iv 405
- Despotism* is not justified, even by making a good use of it, vi 275. The form of government under, never fixed, 318, 318.
- Desrouleaux*, Lewis, a Negro slays his good fortune and generosity to his master, iv 108
- Devil Cottah*, revolutions of that settlement, i 461
- Dey*, the nature of that office and dignity in the Barbary states, described, iv 17
- Dialogue* between the author and a minister of state, on the arcana of government, vi 494
- Diamonds* the most splendid representation of opulence, iii 410 The several varieties of, 411 Natural history of this gem *id* Experiments with in a burning glass, 413 And in fire, *ibid*. The several known diamond mines enumerated, 415 In what state found 416 Extraordinary one bought for the empress of Russia, 417. Diamonds discovered in Brazil, *ibid* Pegulation imposed on the trade of, *ibid* In what state the Brazil diamonds are found, 419
- Diogenes Siculus*, his account of the supposed ancient island of Atlantis, i 30.
- Discontents*, political, evaporate by the liberty of complaint, i. 402
- Discoveries* useful, why chance has always more share in them than ingenuity, iii 313 v 140
- Disputes*, religious, the good tendency of, iii 26
- Dogeron*, Bertrand, his character, iv 419 Is sent from France, to settle and govern the buccancers at St Domingo and Fortuga, *ibid* Difficulty of his task, *ibid* His assiduity in reconciling them to settlement and cultivation, 420 Supplies them with women, 421 Improves the colony by the ascendant he gains over their minds, 422 Meditated the conquest of the whole island for France, 468
- Domingo*, St discovered by Columbus, *id* 415 Description of the island and inhabitants *ibid* Their religion and customs 416 A fort built and a garrison left there by Columbus, 418 Columbus's second arrival there, 419 Battle between the Spaniards and the inhabitants, 420. They resolve to starve the Spaniards,

- Spaniards, 421. Cruelties exercised by the Spaniards, 422. A recruit of malefactors from the Spanish prisons brought to the island, 425. The natives reduced to slavery, 428. And at length extinguished, 429. The culture of cochineal introduced into this island, 503. The northern coast of this island settled by some French refugees, termed buccancers, *ibid.* 484. Decline of the Spanish colony there, 486. Attack of, by Penn and Venables, 491. The waste of inhabitants in the mines supplied from Africa, *ibid.* 207. The island weakened by emigration to the continent of America, 209. Suffers by pillage, *ibid.* Present state of the Spanish colony, 210. The plain of Vega Real recommended to the cultivation of the French, 213. Dimensions of the island, 415. Appearance of the coasts, *ibid.* Climate, 416. A governor sent from France to regulate and settle the buccaneers there and at Tortuga, 419. A supply of women sent to them, 421. Improvements of the colony, 422. Their trade oppressed by new regulations, 425. The company of St. Louis formed, to extend cultivation to the southward, 427. Ruin of this company, 428. Disturbance in the colony occasioned by an ill supply of slaves by the India Company, 431. Rapid improvement of, since, *ibid.* French settlements to the southward, 432. Town of St. Lewis, 435. It's territory and produce, *ibid.* Town of Cayes, 437. Means of improving this town, 439. The smuggling trade the great support of these settlements, 442. Disadvantages of the southern settlements, *ibid.* Settlements to the westward, *ibid.* Town of Port au Prince destroyed by an earthquake, and rebuilt on the same spot, 446. Town of St. Marc, 448. Mineral waters discovered in the territory of Gonaves, 450. Remarks on the neglect shewn by mother-countries to distant colonies, *ibid.* Account of the Mole of St. Nicholas, which separates the western from the northern part of the colony, 452. Town of Bombardopolis, 453. Port Paix, 454. The plain of the Cape, *ibid.* Town of St. Francis, 455. Exports of the island to France, 459. Summary view of it's population, produce, and manufactures, 461. Treatment of the Negro slaves, 463. General view of the towns, 464. Connexions of the island with foreign nations, 465. Is distressed in times of war, 466. Advantages that might be made of the harbour at Port Dauphin, 468. Historical review of the contests between the French and Spaniards on the island, *ibid.* Remarks on the settlements of boundaries between their possessions, 472. Measures proper to be taken by the French against invasion, 474.
- Demiréa*, was one of the islands left to the native Caribs by the English and the French, v. 97. Is ceded by the French to the English, 106. It's present state of population and cultivation, 107. Disputes between the English there, and the neighbouring French islands, about the latter protecting refugee debtors, 108. Is made a free port, 111. Advantages of it's situation,

- Situation, *ibid*. Regulations established in this island concerning free Negroes, 114
- Drake, Sir Francis, his successes against the Spaniards in America, v. 339
- Draper, Eliza, apostrophe to her memory, i. 429
- Dresden porcelain, the best imitation of China ware made in Europe, ii. 331
- Drucourt, Madame de, her gallant behaviour at the siege of Louisbourg, v. 322
- Druids, ancient, a detail of their doctrines and rites v. 341. Are severely treated by the Romans, 342 Their religion supplanted by Christianity *ibid*
- Drunkards, general consequences of this vice, 11. 182 Is peculiarly destructive to the natives of America, *ibid*
- Dudley, governor of Jamaica, his character, v. 46.
- Du Hamel, M. his method of preparing flour to keep in the Caribbee isleeds witho it spoiling, 11. 470
- Dumplers, a religious sect in Pennsylvania, origin of, vi. 16 Their city Euphrates *ibid* Their peculiar mode of life, 17 Their dress and food, 18 Their marriages and regulation of property, *ibid*
- Durcan, colonel, governor of New York, his prudent administration in that colony, v. 456 Resigns on account of the revolution in England, 457
- Dung, how far it will assist tillage v. 105
- Dupleix, his judicious management as governor of Chandernagore, ii. 109 Is made governor of Pondicherry, 110 Is prevailed on to oppose the schemes of Bourdonnais, 113 Defends Pondicherry against the English, 114 Aims at securing a French dominion in Indostan, 129 Consers the subaship of the Decan on Salabat Jang, 130 And the nabobship of the Carnatic on Chunda Saheb, *ibid* Acquires an immense territory for the French for these services, *ibid* Is invested with the dignity of nabob, 133
- Dutch, their opposition to Philip II of Spain, i. 211 Attempt the discovery of a passage to China and Japan, through the northern seas 213 Form a company to trade with India and send out ships, *ibid* Attempt a trade with Java, 214 Their East India Company established, 215 Their conflicts with the Portuguese in the Indian seas, 217 Attempt to open a commerce with China, 219 Establish a settlement on the island of Formosa, 220 Ignominious conditions on which they are allowed to trade with Japan, 227 Articles of their trade with Japan, *ibid* Exclude the Portuguese from the Molucca islands, 231 Measures taken by them to secure a monopoly of the spice trade, *ibid* 238 Their motives for retaining possession of Timor, 241 And Celebes, 248 Establish a trade with Ormoa for pepper, *ibid* And with Sumatra for pepper and tin, 244 View of their trade with Siam, 256 How they gained an establishment in Malacca, 257 Assist the king

king of Candy in driving the Portuguese out of Ceylon, 259. From whence they procure their cinnamon, 265. The terms to which they have reduced the king of Candy, 266. Account of their factories on the coast of Coromandel, 268. Review of their trade there, 269. Supplant the Portuguese in Malabar, *ibid.* The nature of the trade carried on by them there, 270. The motives of their forming a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, 271. Remarks on their system of policy at the Cape, 287. An in Java, 290. How they acquired an exclusive trade with Bantam, 293. With Cheribon, *ibid.* And with Mataram, 294. Defraud the natives in their dealings, 297. Causes of the prosperity of their East India Company, 313. Causes of the decline of the company, 316. Their East India wars, 320. Abuses of administration there, 325. Remedies proposed adapted to the evils, 327. Importance of this company to the republic, 342. Degeneracy of the Dutch Nation, 348. Endeavour to irritate the natives of India against the first English adventurers, 368. Commencement of hostilities, which are accommodated by a treaty between the two companies, 369. Expel the English cruelly from Amboyna, 371. Ill-treatment of the Dutch at Bassora, how retaliated by Baron Knyphausen, 419. Present state of their intercourse with China, *ii.* 352. And India, 370. Their rapid exertions against the eastern settlements of their enemies the Spaniards, upon the formation of their republic, *iii.* 335. Establish a West India Company, and attack Brazil, 336. Their great successes against the Portuguese by sea, 338. Reduce all the coast of Brazil, 339. Affairs of that colony under their administration, 348. Are expelled from Brazil, 352. Were the first people that promoted a commercial intercourse among the nations of Europe, *iv.* 246. Description of the American islands, 248. The advantages derived from them, 254. Possess themselves of Surinam, 261. Reflections on the state of the Dutch American colonies, 284. Amount of their public debts, 285. Their manufactures depressed by taxes, *ibid.* Decline of their herring fisheries, 286. Their navigation reduced, *ibid.* Their commission trade diminished, 287. The trade of insurance lost, *ibid.* Vest their money in the funds of other nations, 288. Precariousness of their situation, 289. The advantages the industry of the Dutch gave them over the wealth of the Spaniards and Portuguese, *vi.* 406.

E

Eur. the great changes it has undergone from natural causes, one source of the superstition of mankind, *ii.* 436. Comparison between the Old and New World, *v.* 350. Attempt to account for the disposition of land and sea, *ibid.* The equilibrium, how supported, 351. Phenomena which indicate the continents of America to have been once recently left by the ocean than those of the Old World, 353. Has undergone various changes, *vi.* 463.

- Partibquates*, the prognostics of, in Peru, iii. 107.
- East-India trade*, the first cultivators of, in Europe, i. 13.
- East-India Companies*.
- , Dutch, the establishment of, i. 213. Causes of the prosperity of, 313. Causes of its decline, 316. Importance of this company to the republic, 342.
- , English, first formed, i. 362. Objections made to the monopoly of, 384. A second English company formed, 386. The two companies united, 387. Private trade between one port and another, encouraged in the East by the English Company, 497. The Company has flourished under all its restraints, 498. The English Company no longer a mercantile association, but a territorial power, 506. Great military establishment supported by the English in India, 507. Comparison between the conduct of the English and other India Companies, 512. Their Bengal administration corrupted, *ibid*. Their commercial oppressions, 514. Parliamentary regulations of the Company's affairs, 525. Internal arrangement made by the Company, 527. The Company's circumstances improve, 532.
- , French, formed by M. Colbert, ii. 31. Terms of, 12. Wise administration of Martin the director, 65. Causes of the decline of the French Company, 67. Situation of the Company at the fall of Law's system, 103. European trades reduced to acquire territorial possessions in Indostan for their own security there, 128. Causes of the ill fortune of the French in India inquired into, 143. The French Company oppressed by the government, 145. New regulations of, 147. The exclusive privilege of the Company suspended, 150. Review of their circumstances at this time, *ibid*. The Company cede all their effects to government, 159.
- , Danish formed, ii. 202. A new one established, 204. A third Company formed on the failure of the last, 205. The constitution of this Company explained, *ibid*. A new charter granted to it, 211. Review of the present state of the Company, 214.
- , Austrian, at Ostend, views which led to the formation of, ii. 220. Its successful beginning, 221. Is opposed by the Dutch and English, 222. Is bargained away by the court of Vienna, 224.
- , A Swedish Company established, ii. 230. Great profits made by, 231. Historical review of their trade, 232.
- , Prussian, established at Lunden, ii. 252. Failure of, *ibid*. Discussion of the question, whether the East India trade ought to be conducted by exclusive companies, or laid open, ii. 385. The nature of the India trade stated, 387. Why it must be carried on by associations, 388. Whose interest it would be to unite in one company, 391. The origin of their exclusive privilege, 395. The political concerns of a company should be vested in the state, 396.
- Ecclesiastical policy*, historical review of, in the Christian church, vi. 331.

Education in savage and in civilized society, contrasted, ii. 535.

Egypt, a country full of the ruins of it's antient prosperity, i. 46.

Was intended by Alexander the Great as the seat of empire and the centre of trade for the whole world, 95. It's capital, Alexandria, rendered the mart for Eastern commerce, under Ptolomy and his successors, 97. The nature and manner of conducting this trade described, 98. Amazing extent of it's trade and opulence, 99. Was annexed to the Eastern empire, 100. It's final decay, *ibid.* It's connection with Venice under the Mamelucs, 103. The antiquity of, compared with that of China, ii. 325. It's boundaries and extent, iv. 4. The climate, *ibid.* The fertility of the country owing to the Nile, 5. Distribution of lands, 6. Classes of the inhabitants, *ibid.* Government, 8. The beys, how promoted, and their authority, 9. The troops, *ibid.* Taxes and trade, 10. Duties upon commerce, 13. The climate of, antiently rendered unhealthy by the cultivation of rice, vi. 68.

El Dorado, current traditions of a rich country of that name in the interior parts of Guiana, vi. 329.

Elizabeth, queen of England, her character, i. 362. Her speech to the house of commons, relating to the East India charter, 363.

Her policy in completing the reformation, v. 346. Her attention to the raising a maritime strength, vi. 395.

Emerald, a gem peculiar to America, iii. 85. Produced in the province of New Grenada, 86. How found, *ibid.*

Emigration, hint to the Governors of countries how to prevent it, i. 449. Reflections on the propensity to, in Sweden, ii. 236.

Erychpædis, character of that great work, vi. 546.

England, general view of the manners of the people in the fifteenth century, i. 23. Formerly ravaged by northern invaders, is again thrown into confusion by William the Conqueror introducing the feudal government, 357. Low state of commerce, during the feudal ages, 358. Wholesome regulations of Henry VII. for emancipating the common people, *ibid.* The true principles of trade misunderstood at that time, 359. Flemish Workmen who arrive there ill treated by the natives, 361. Manufactures introduced by the Spanish oppressions in the Netherlands, and the persecution of the Protestants in France, *ibid.* Improvement of trade and navigation under Queen Elizabeth, 362. Formation of the East India company, *ibid.* The principles on which this company formed their Eastern Settlements, 365. Meet with disappointments, 367. Acquire a share of the spice trade with the Dutch, *ibid.* Hostilities between the two companies accommodated by a treaty, 369. Are ill used by the Dutch at Ambayra, 37. Engagement between Captain Best and the Portuguese, 372. Asiat Schah Abbas in expelling the Portuguese from Ormuz, 374. A trade established at Gombroon by the English, 375. Their India trade neglected during the civil war under Charles I. 377. Revival of, under Oliver Cromwell,

379. Why excluded from Japan, *ibid.* The India company ill treated by Charles II. 380. Iniquitous conduct of Julius Child and his brother, 381. Are reduced by Aurengzebe to submission, 382. Effects of the revolution that deposed James II on East India affairs, 383. A second East India company formed, 386. The two united, 387. Their settlement at Pullocondor destroyed by the Macassar garrison, 388. Overpower the French in the East, 389. Measures taken to improve the trade of the Red Sea, 410. Establish a factory at Mascate, in the Persian gulph, 422. Account of their factory at Anjengo, on the coast of Malabar, 429. Assist the Marattas in reducing Angria the pirate, 442. How they acquired an ascendancy over Surat, 445. Reduce the town of Diarchoe, 446. And the island of Salsette, 448. Their trade and improvements at Bombay, 449. How exposed to contests with the Marattas, 451. Their possessions on the coast of Coromandel, 451. Cudalore, 462. Masulipatan, *ibid.* Territories in the Decan, 464. Account of Madras, 465. Their connections with the nabob of Arcot, 466. War with Hyder Ali Khan, 467. Account of their settlement on the island of Sumatra, 469. Their new settlement at Balaubangan destroyed, 471. Their possessions and trade in Bengal, 479. 484. Remarks on the general affairs of their India company, 498. The territorial power of the East India company precarious, 509. Their administration corrupted, 512. Are accused of monopolizing rice during the famine in Bengal, 518. The administration of the company ordered under parliamentary inspection, 524. Are accused of using the French ill in Bengal, ii 166. Remarks on their Eastern policy, 188. Attempt a passage into Persia by the Wolga and the Caspian Sea, 293. Present state of their intercourse with China, 353. General review of their conduct in India, 370. Their first settlement in the bay of Honduras, 351. History of the contract to supply the Spanish American settlements with Negroes, ii 225. Account of their scheme for depriving Spain of their Mexican dominions, 306. Cause of the connection between England and Portugal, 428. Nature of the Portugal trade, *ibid.* Remarks on the decline of this trade, 434. Settle the island of St Christopher's in conjunction with the French, 481. Motives of Cromwell for attacking the Spaniards in the West Indies, 489. The island of Jamaica taken, 492. How the English gained a superiority over the Dutch in the political system of Europe, 527. Remarks on the political publications there, 532. War with Spain in 1739, on account of their violent proceedings in the West Indies, 534. Their political views, 539. Motives that, in 1755, led to the war with France, 541. Remarks on the mode of commencing this war, 542. National defection at the first events of the war, 545. Mr Pitt's pointed manner; and his character, 547. Execution of Admiral Byng, 548. Consequences of this execution, *ibid.* Establishment

Establishment of the Marine Society, 549. Prosperous events of the war, 550 Mr. Pitt's plan of conduct examined, 557. Reflections on the terms of the peace, 566 Particulars relating to their trade on the coast of Africa, iv 77 Origin of their African company, 97 Amount of their slave trade, *ibid* Their connections with the Danish American islands, 302.

How the English irritated the Caribs against them, 357 Political view of England, v 1. State of, when settlements first began to be formed on the American islands, 2 Plan of policy pursued by Henry VII 4 Character of James I. 6 The people oppose his arbitrary principles, 8 Review of the civil war between Charles I and his parliament, 11 The population of the British American islands in great measure owing to this war, 12. The good policy of transporting felons to the American plantations, 13. General view of the government of the American islands, 14 The cultivation of sugar, how introduced into the American islands, 16. Motives for framing the navigation act, 17 History of the sugar trade, 18. Conditions upon which land in the American islands was sold by the government, 115 Limitation of plantations, 116 Restraint imposed on the property of the French planters in the ceded islands, 118. Ill success of rash settlers on these islands, 119 General character of the English West India islands, 120 The white inhabitants in, decrease in proportion to the increase of Negroes, *ibid*. Venal spirit of the English, 123 Causes of the flourishing state of their West India settlements, 124 Amount of the receipts from these colonies, 126 General character of the city of London, 127 Reduction of Canada, 187 Causes of the failure of the attempt on Quebec in 1690, 194 Share the fur trade with the French, 213

Origin of the disputes with the French in Canada 316 Causes of their first ill success against the French in America, 317. Canada conquered, and ceded to the English, 333 History of the English settlements in North America, 338 Formation of the South and North Virginia companies, 340. History of religion in England 341. Cratty usurpations of the Romish clergy over the people, 343 Events which facilitated the reformation, 346 Description of Hudson's Bay, 367. Of Newfoundland, 392. Cod fishery on the great bank, 398 Description of Nova Scotia, 415 Account of New England, 429. Laws for the encouragement of the whale fishery, 447 Nova Belgia afterward New York, seized from the Dutch, 455. And New Jersey, 464 Settlement of Pennsylvania, vi 10 Maryland, 31 Virginia, 41. The two Carolinas, 56 Georgia 72 Florida, 82 Extent of the British territories in North America, 94 Promote the culture of maize in their settlements, 103 Encourage the importation of naval stores from America, *ibid* The importation of American iron absurdly obstructed, 107 A free importation of it allowed, 108 The government oppose the desire of some of the American colonies,

nies, of putting an end to Negro slavery, 122 Public distresses of, in the year 1763, 142 The colonies called upon for assistance, 143 The policy of this requisition inquired into, 145 American stamp act passed, 150 And repealed, *ibid* Other duties imposed in its stead, 151 And repealed, except in the article of tea, 153 Boston port bill, 154 Commencement of the American war, 159 The American states assume independence, 195 Progress of the war with them, 202 Causes in Britain which operated to the ill success of the American war, 268 Errors of their generals in America, 210 War with France 222 The mediation of Spain refused, 235 Divided state of England at this time, 236

Historical review of the constitution of the British government, 294 Character of the feudal system framed there by William the Conqueror, 295 Magna Charta obtained, 296 Growth of the house of commons, *ibid* The government of Elizabeth arbitrary, 297 Causes of the civil war under Charles I traced *ibid* The crown granted to William III under a formal compact, 298 Analysis of the present English government, *ibid* Is the best constitution existing in the world, 304 Its defects pointed out, 306 The pretensions of the English to a perpetual empire of the sea, ridiculed, 395 History of the English navy, *ibid* The injustice of impressing seamen condemned, 401 Their liberal protection of commerce, 409

England, New See *New England*

Ensenada M de la, substitutes detached vessels instead of fleets of galleons, for carrying on the Spanish trade with America, in 1292

Entails of estates, unfavourable to population, vi 471

Enterpriser the principles that stimulate mankind to, ii, 292

Epicurus, his character, vi 528

Ermine of Canada described v 198

Essequibo, account of the Dutch colony there, iv 275

Esquimaux Indians described with their manners and customs, v 370 Are peculiarly exposed to badness and the scurvy, 371

Eugene, Prince, patronizes the formation of an Austrian East India company at Orlend, ii 220

Euphrates, a town built by the Dumplers in Pennsylvania, account of, vi 17

Europe, why the modern institutions of, are inferior to those of ancient Greece 18 How the subjection of to the northern invaders of the Roman empire, was facilitated 9 Barbarism of under these rulers, 10 The middle ages of, characterized 11 Invaded by the Normans and Arabs 12 First attempt at an East India trade 14 General view of the progress of the principal nations of, in the fifteenth century 21 The crusades favourable to the civil liberties of, 110 Whether the connections of with Asia be advantageous or not, ii 358 A review of the present state of 401 Personal liberty more extensive in, when the chain of feudal subordination was broken,

broken, than in any former times, iv. 133 Confusion excited in, on account of the Spanish succession, v. 224 Review of the means by which this quarter of the world arrived at its present state of civilization, vi. 266 Causes of the little influence the Turkish princes have in the affairs of, 272 The tranquillity of, ought to be secured by means similar to that of the Germanic body, 293 Historical review of the hierarchy of the church of Rome, 333 The true policy of Europe defined, 364 The first introduction of standing armies, 375 War extended by this innovation, 377 The art of fortification invented by the Dutch, 379 War carried on now with more humanity than in ancient times, 383 Evils resulting from the great increase of soldiers, 384 Progress of military navies, 386 The superiority of this quarter of the world over the rest, resulting from its naval strength, 398 Is rendered more quiet at land, by the diversion of hostilities to the sea, 399 Historical deduction of the progress of commerce in 404 Industry, its importance to the existence of the several states of Europe, 411 Arts and sciences brought from Asia by the crusaders 452 The alterations produced in, by manufactures 457 Its rude state in ancient times, 464 Evidences of its having been but thinly inhabited formerly 465 The Roman conquests tended to depopulation, 466 The ancient forms of government unfavourable to population, 467 Origin of capital cities, 469 Population dependent in great measure, on the distribution of landed property, 470 Climate of the good and evil resulting from the discovery of the East and West Indies, 479

Eufatia, the island described, vi. 249 Its revolutions and present produce, *ibid* Nature of the trade of that port, 256 Number of inhabitants, and their defenceless state, 257

Fairs, the principal places of trade during the infancy of commerce, i. 13 Method of carrying on trade there formerly, 16.

ii. 5

Falkland Islands account of the British attempt to establish a settlement on them iii. 301

Fashions, the extensive influence of, iv. 68

Fernambucca in Brazil, historical description of that government, iii. 388

Ferrardo de Noronha an island on the coast of Fernambucca in Brazil, described, ii. 390

Feudal system of government, the leading principles of, i. 15 The tyrannical abuse of it how undermined, 16 Origin of, vi. 268 Sufferings in Poland in all the vigour of its primitive institution, 27

Few account of this state and its inhabitants iv. 18

Flanders, trade and manufactures early cultivated there, i. 18

Florida, discovered by Ponce de Leon, v. 133 Is neglected by the Spaniards and imprudently managed by the French, 140

The French exterminated by the Spaniards, 141 The Spaniards,

niards, in turn, exterminated by the French, *ibid.* Was first resorted to by the Spaniards for slaves, vi. 82. French settlers driven out by the Spaniards, 83. Is ceded to Britain, 87. The Spanish inhabitants retire to Cuba, *ibid.* Regulation of this province by the English, 88. A colony of Greeks brought over, 89. Advantageous situation of this country, 91. East Florida, a barren, sandy soil, *ibid.* Method of civilizing the Indian natives of West Florida proposed, 92.

Forrofa, a description of that island, and its inhabitants, i. 220.

Rules to commercial importance, by the settlement of the Dutch on it, and the arrival of a colony of Chinese refugees, 221. Heroic conduct of Hambroeck, when the island was besieged by Coxinga, 222. The Dutch expelled, 223. Why no European settlement has since been formed on that island, *ibid.*

Forrest, Captain, account of his voyage to New Guinea, in search of spices, i. 332.

Fortification, the art of, invented by the Dutch, vi. 379

Fox, of Canada, described, v. 200

Fox, George, the founder of the sect of Quakers, his character, vi. 6.

France. State of that kingdom under Lewis XI. i. 22.

Character of Dagobert, king of, in the seventh century, ii.

5. Agriculture recommended by Charlemagne, *ibid.* Trade

patronized by St Lewis, 7. Improvements attended to by

subsequent princes, 8. First attempts of the French at naval

adventures to the East, 10. Ill conducted settlement on Madag-

ascar, *ibid.* An East India company formed by M. Colbert,

11. Makes Surat the centre of their Eastern trade, 27. Un-

dertake naval enterprises by the advice of Caron, their leader,

46. Send a fleet to Siam, 53. Causes of their losing the mar-

ket of Cochin China, 63. Remarks on the political adminis-

tration of Lewis XIV. 64. Vile conduct of Martin, the di-

rector of the East India company, 65. Causes of the decline of

the company, 67. Brief historical view of the finances of France,

72. Extortions of the Loubards, 78. State of the French

revenues at the death of Francis I. 79. Character of the duke

de Sully, as a financier, 80. Character of M. Colbert, 81.

Administration of the duke of Orleans, 83. Ideas of reformers

at this season, *ibid.* The duke of Orleans institutes an office for

the revision of public accounts, 85. Law's famous scheme for

reforming the finances, 87. State of the revenues at the death

of Lewis XIV. 91. Apostrophe to the present king, on the

state of the nation, *ibid.* The Isles of Bourbon and Mauritius

settled, 106. Review of the French possessions on the coast of

Cyramandel, at the commencement of the war, in 1754. with

the English, 135. Inquiry into the causes of their misfortunes

in Asia, 143. History of the tobacco trade in France, 153.

Present state of the French on the coast of Malabar, 163. And

in Bengal, 166. Hints offered for the reduction of their influ-

ence in the East, 190. Character of the French nation, and

remarks

remarks on the antipathy between them and the Spaniards, 273. Their present intercourse with China, 354. General review of their Eastern conduct and policy, 360.

Settlements attempted by the French in Brazil, iii. 34. Remarks on the peace of Aix la Chapelle, 536. Unjustifiable commencement of hostilities by the English in 1755, without a previous declaration of war, 542. The French successful in the early stages of this war, 545. But precipitate themselves into a train of disasters, 546. Their rapid defeats and distresses, 550. Guadalúpe taken, 552. Martinico taken, 553. Overtures for peace made to Mr. Pitt, and the use he made of them, 559.

General reflections on the permanency of the circumstances of France, iv. 290. The Caribbee Islands settled under an exclusive company, 315. Mistakes of Colbert, 318. The colonies redeemed, and thrown open, 320. But oppressed by taxation, *ibid.* Heavy duties imposed on commodities exported from them, 322. The administration of the colonies reformed, 326. Settlements attempted in Guiana, 330. Arguments of the ministry in favour of renewing these attempts, 335. Plan adopted for this purpose, 337. Errors in the execution, 338. Proper measures for settling and improving Guiana, 346. Present state of French Guiana, 354. Account of the island of St. Lucia, 357. Martinico, 371. Guadalúpe, and its dependencies, 397. St. Domingo, 415. Summary of the imports from the American colonies, 460. Remarks on the establishment of property in the French islands, 483. On the levy of taxes, 487. Particularly that on Negro slaves, 488. Military state of the islands, 495. Regulations of inheritance, 499. Payments of debts in the colonies, how provided for, 503. France unable to draw home all the productions of her colonies, 513. A regulation of the prohibitory laws recommended, 514. The commerce of the colonies ought not to be subjected to the expence and delays of a staple in France, 516. Whether the administration of colony government be vested in proper hands, 519. Or conducted on proper principles, 521. Alterations necessary to be made in the administration of the French islands, 524. Whether France can establish a formidable navy, 531. The proper means to attain this end, 535.

Supplant the English in the sugar trade, v. 19. Settlements in North America, first promoted by Admiral Coligny, 138. Cause of the miscarriage of their first efforts, 145. The French settle Cape Breton, 226. And St. John, 234. Discovery of the river Mississippi, 236. Account of the famous Law, and his scheme, 242. Description and settlement of Louisiana, 240. Review of the consequences of persecuting the Protestants in France, 260. Louisiana ceded to Spain, 281. Examination into the right of France to make this transfer, *ibid.* Origin of the disputes with the English in Canada, 316. Ca-

I N D E X

- nada ceded to the English, 334 Cod fishery at Newfoundland, 407 Establishments left them by treaty to carry on this fishery, 411 Amount of their cod fishery, 411
- Acknowledges the independence of the British American colonies, vi 222 War with England, 225 Constitutional errors in the navy, 226 Remarks on the conduct of this government respecting America, 230 Motives of France in assisting the Americans, 232 Historical review of the government of, 315 Lewis XI properly the first monarch of France, 316 Causes which operate to restrain the tyranny of the Kings of, 318 Attempts of Lewis XIV to establish a maritime force, 393 His first naval exploits *ibid* His mistakes, 394 Complexion of the French commerce, 409 Subjects of utility, but lately attended to by French writers, 526 Rapid revival of the fire arts in, 530
- Frankincense*, its high estimation among the ancients, and their caution against the frauds of the workmen who prepared it, i 99
- Franklin* Dr his observations on the rapid population of North America vi 123
- Frauds* professional, the conscience easily reconciled to the practice of, vi 416
- Frederick III* King of Prussia, character of, ii 250 Establishes an East India Company at Embden, 251 The company fails, 252 Reflections on his administration, *ibid* Apostrophe to, 253 Reforms the art of war, vi 362
- Friederic Nagor*, the factory of founded by the Danes, ii 215
- Fundstif* the nature and offices of explained, v 163 In fact v 164
- Frontenac*, fort in Canada, its situation, and occasion of its erection, v 297
- Frozen Ocean*, the Russian accounts of, to be doubted, i 40
- Fuentes*, Admiral, story of his voyage from Callao into Hudson's Bay v 381
- Funchal*, town of, on the island of Madeira, some account of, i 31
- Furs* an account of those animals in Canada which furnish them, v 196 The trade with the Indians for, described, 213

G

- Gabon* river, on the coast of Africa, described with the trade carried on there iv 81
- Gill* His conjectures concerning the figure of the earth, alarm the clergy vi 542 Invented the telescope, *ibid*
- Galsoniere*, governor of Caraca His character, and conduct toward the English, v 316
- Gallantry* the connections of, finish the depravation of manners, vi 563

- Garriz*, Vasco de, his first voyage to the East Indies, i. 37. Discovers Calicut, and returns to Portugal, 91. His successes favourable to the civil liberties of Europe, 110.
- Gambia* river, and the trade carried on there described, iv. 79.
- Ganges*, account of the European factories up that river, i. 487. The navigation of this river, and that of Hughley described, 488. Commercialintercourse, how conducted on these two rivers, 489.
- Gasca*, Pedro de la, a priest, arrives in Peru with powers to regulate the province, iii. 46. His character, *ibid*. Defeats Gonzales Pizarro, and sentences him to death, *ibid*.
- Gauls*, antient, retrospect of the state of commerce among them, ii. 21. Heavy duties imposed on land and water carriage under the Franks, 3. See *Irrace*.
- Genius*, how far influenced by climate and government, i. 391. How distinguished, v. 140.
- Georgia*, in North America, it's situation and extent, vi. 72. Is peopled by insolvent debtors from England, 73. Under the care of general Oglethorpe, *ibid*. Is strengthened by the arrival of other settlers, 74. Decline of the colony, 75. Causes of it's ill success, 76. Recovers by the government being taken out of private hands, 81. Present state of the province, *ibid*.
- Germany*, general view of the manners of the inhabitants, in the fifteenth century, i. 24. The political constitution of that empire examined, vi. 290. The tranquillity of the empire secured by Maximilian, 292. Why deficient in collective power and energy, 294. Obstacles to the commerce of this empire, 411.
- Ginger*, the plant described, it's different sorts, and customary uses in Asia, i. 437.
- Ginseng*, description, and reputed virtues of this root, ii. 317. Is highly valued by the Chinese, 318. Is found in Canada, v. 309. The trade with, to China, ruined, 310.
- Glorv*, true, is the lot of virtue, not of genius, iv. 188.
- Goa*, the island and city of, described, i. 94. Nature of it's government at the arrival of the Portuguese, 95. Is taken by Albuquerque, *ibid*. And fortified, *ibid*. It's present decayed state, 441.
- Gold*, the corrupter of all governments, ii. 61. And silver, the relative values of, how averaged, 350. The necessity of keeping up the circulation of these metals, 368. Reflections on the enormities by which these metals are procured, 505. Produce of the mountains of Zacatecas, 510. Lehmann's remarks on the means of procuring them, iii. 102. Where found, in the valleys of Peru, 136. Mines of Huantajala, 138. Of Potosi, 139. Of Oruro, 140. These metals lose their value in proportion as their quantity is multiplied, 287. The thirst of, productive of the worst of all traffic, that of slaves, 408. Their proportional values to each other, in various places and

- Gold Coast*, account of the native Africans of, iv 65 Method of the natives in procuring gold, 70 It's extent, and the European factories settled there, 81
- Gombroon* described, and a trade established there by the English, i 375
- Goree*, the island of, described, iv 78
- Gosnell*, his expedition to North America and discovery of New England, v 340
- Gottenburgh* made the seat of the Swedish East India Company, ii 232
- Government*, general reflections on the complicated nature of, i 196 Civil and religious, the distinction between traced, iii 216 Parallel between one founded on injustice, and one founded on virtue, vi 1 Neither of these species of government to be found, 3 Political compared with that of a private family, 128 War always furnishes a pretence for usurpations, 150 American ideas of, 161 188 The various revolutions of, traced, 264 Military and despotic, reciprocally tend to each other, 271 Analysis of the government of Great Britain, 298 Pernicious consequences of authority in, 351 The complexion of, determines the character of those who live under it, 353 Policy and legislation distinguished 354 Varies according to the character of the prince, 367 A secret conspiracy carried on by all monarchies against free states, 369 Dialogue between the Author and a minister of state, on the arcana of government, 494
- Gourgues*, Dominic de, revenges the treatment of his countrymen on the Spaniards at Florida, v 142
- Gramont*, a Buccaneer, his history, iii 513 Surprizes Campeachy, 514
- Granada*, account of the Moorish kingdom of, in Spain, ii 408 Is reduced, *ibid* Terms of capitulation granted to them, iii 259 Cruel persecution of the Moors by Philip II *ibid* Expulsion of, and the consequences of this insatuated measure 260
- , New, in South America its extent and climate, iii 83 Account of the natives 84 They are reduced by Spanish adventurers, *ibid* Exaggerated accounts of the first riches of this country, 85 Furnishes emeralds, *ibid* And galli, 86 Is governed under the viceroyalty of Peru. 87 The ferocity of the natives softened by the missionaries 88. Mines more attended to there than agriculture, *ibid* Indications of the abundance of its mineral riches, 89 Description of its capital city, *ibid*
- Great Britain* See *England*
- Greece*, the natural circumstances of, peculiarly favourable to commerce, i 6 The ancient institutions of, superior to those of modern times 8 View of the Greek empire when attacked by the Arabs, 14 Subversion of, 101 General review of the history

history of, with a character of the natives of, vi 266. A review of the ancient commerce of the Grecian states, 404 W y famous for the fine arts, 521 It's former and present state contrasted, 527

Greeks ancient their genius for the marvellous exemplified, iii 355 Inquiry into their fabulous accounts of the Amazons, *ibid*

Grenada, one of the Caribbee Islands, described, v 82 Is first settled by the French *ibid* Extraordinary tribunal formed to condemn a rapacious French governor, 84 Is cultivated from Martinico *ibid* Is ceded to England, 86 Errors of the new proprietors, *ibid* It's present exports to England, 88

Grenadines, general account of these islands v 89

Guadalupe, island of, taken from the French by the English, iii 552 Description of iv 397 Distinction between Guadalupe and Grand Terre, *ibid* It's first settlement by the French, and the depredations they suffered from the native Caribs, 398. Other disadvantages the colonists laboured under, 399 It's present prosperity owing to it's conquest by the English, 401. Various systems since adopted by France in the government of this island, 402 Islands dependent on it, 405 Present state of all these islands, 407 Exports of Guadalupe, 409 Description of the harbour of Pitre Point, 410 Improvements to be expected in this island, 411. Examination of it's defence against invasion, 412

Guam, the principal of the Marianne islands, described, ii 530. Agriculture introduced into this island by M Tobias a late governor, 531.

Guanaco, a wild species of animal in Peru, described, iii 125. Their fleece, 127

Guanca Velica, account of the quicksilver mines there, iii 143. Unwholesomeness of the air, 144

Guatemala, account of the provinces over which the audience of, extends its jurisdiction, ii 545 Account of the province and city of, 546 This city the channel of communication with Peru, 547 Instructions for the invaders of this city, 548 Is, however, now destroyed by an earthquake, *ibid*. A new city planned, 550

Gustimofn, a successor of Montezuma defends the city of Mexico, against Cortez, ii 454 His cruel treatment and death, 455.

Guayaquil, the town of, in Peru, described, iii 115 Peculiar kind of a purple dye found on the coast, 116 Trade of this town, 117 Inconveniences the inhabitants are subject to, *ibid*

Guiana, boundaries of, iv 258 Remarks on the soil of, *ibid* Account of the growth of mangroves, 259 Extensive morasses, 260 Dutch settlement at Surinam, 261 Bechee, 274. Essequibo, 275 Dinerary, *ibid* Cause of the bad state of the Dutch settlements in this country pointed out, 276 Disadvantage

- vantages of the climate, 277. Trade of the English to that country, 283 Manners and customs of the natives 328
 Traditionary reports respecting the territory called El Dorado, 329 Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition to this country and Attempts of the French to settle it, 336 Ill success of, 334 Arguments urged in favour of reviving their attempts 335 Errors in the plan adopted for this purpose, 338 Destruction of a large colony brought over at the commencement of the rainy season, 341 The country upbraided on account of this disaster, 342 Account of the coast belonging to France, 343 Climate, 345 Soil, *ibid* Successful cultivation of M Mallover 346 Proper measures for settling and improving this district, *ibid* Character of the interior natives, 348 Means proposed for civilizing them, 349 The boundaries hug previously to be settled, 353 Present state of French Guiana, 354
Guinea, account of the first expeditions of the Portuguese to the coast of 1 36 Inquiry into the cause of the black colour of the natives of, iv 42 Only two seasons in that country 50 The air there corrupted by morasses, 51 Soil of the different districts, *ibid* The western coasts of, secure and the sea calm, 53 Winds and currents *ibid* The natives there destitute of history, 54 Manner of electing their chiefs, in the petty states, 55 Manner of sending embassies from one state to another, 56 Causes of their wars, and manner of carrying them on, 57 Power of their princes, *ibid* Their religion, 58 Manners and customs 60 Low state of arts among the Negroes, 61 Treatment of their women, 62 Historical account of the slave trade, 71 Story of an English surgeon left there, 106
Guinea, New, spices found growing there by captain Forrest, 1 332
Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, diffuses a martial spirit among his subjects 11 218
Gustavus Vasa, state of Sweden at his accession to the crown, 11 226 His ill policy in shutting his ports against the Lubeck ships, 227
Guzarat, the peninsula of, described, 11 27 A colony of Persians settle there, 28 Flourishes in art and commerce, 29 Is reduced by Sultan Akbar, 30. Principal manufactures of the province, 44

H

- Halifax*, in Nova Scotia, settled by disbanded English soldiers, 1 v 424
Hambroek the Dutch minister at Formosa, his heroic conduct when that island was besieged by Coxinga the Chinese pirate, 1 222
Hanse Towns, the first establishment of, 1 17

Happirest,

- Happiness*, whether more to be expect'd in savage or civilized society, v 359
- Hirars*, Eastern, general account of the interior economy of, ii 37.
- Hylings*, Mr governor general of Bengal, how he acquired possession of the India code & laws, i 48
- Huts*, and Caps, account of the parties in Sweden, ii 248
- Huay* a cacique of Hispania, his unfortunate history, iv 15.
- Ha-a-nih*, attacked by the English in 562 Review of the error, both of the besiegers and the besieged, 563 Captivates, 566 Motives of its first settlement, iv 217. Improvements of this town, 231 The harbour, 232 The strength of its fortifications examined, *ibid*
- Helpi*, its size, situation, and inhabitants, described, i 493 The climate unfavourable to vegetation, 494 The town, garrison, and trade of, 495
- Herry* of Burgundy, carries a number of French knights to assist the Portuguese against the Moors, i 130
- Henry* Prince, son of John, King of Portugal, cultivates the art of navigation, i 30
- Henry VII.* of England, review of his plan of government, v 4
- Henry VIII* of England, how enabled to exclude the power of the pope over his subjects and seize it himself, v 346
- Hierarchy* of the christian church, a historical review of, vi 333.
- Highlanders*, of Scotland, their character, manners, and customs, vi 63 How first induced to emigrate, 65 Extraordinary story of one, 85.
- Hispaniola* See *Domingo*
- History*, a summary view of the principal objects of, v 128.
- Holidays*, the pernicious tendency of, vi 443
- Honesty*, professional, seldom found among mankind, vi 415.
- Holland*, rise of the republic of, i 204 The Counts of, become independent of the Emperor of Germany, 208 Is subjected to the house of Burgundy and afterwar^t to that of Austria, *ibid* The seven provinces of, settled by refugees from Flanders, 210 The republic becomes powerful by wise laws and commerce, 211 Establishment of the East India Company, 215 Importance of this Company to the republic, 342 Analysis of the government of the United Provinces of vi 309 The Stadtholdership made hereditary, 311 Whether this office may not become the instrument of oppression, *ibid* On what security the liberties of the Dutch depend, 312 Are liable to fall under the yoke of monarchy, 314 Circumstances that favoured the growth of their maritime strength, 391 Rise and progress of their commerce, 406 Advantages derived from the situation of the United Provinces, 407 Other co operating causes of their prosperity, 408 See *Dutch*.

- San Juras*, settlements formed by the English between the cape of, and Lake Nicaragua, ii 551 The exports from thence, 552 The gulph of, settled by pirates for the purpose of dealing in logwood, 557 The liberty of cutting logwood there secured to the English, 558
- Horses*, peculiar excellence of those bred in Arab 2. i 397
- Hospitals*, and the management of them, the political tendency of considered, ii 219
- Hospitality*, the antiquity of, iii 324 Is generally abused 325 Has decreased in proportion as the intercourse of nations increased 326
- Hottentots*, at the Cape of Good Hope their manners and customs described, i 272 Their women, 273 Rest Quons on their national habits 274 Striking instance of their attachment to their national habits, 286
- Houtman*, Cornelius engages the Dutch in an attempt to establish a trade with the East Indies, i 213 Commands the first ships sent out, *ibid*
- Huascar*, the brother of Atabalipa, inca of Peru, disputes the empire with him, iii 14 Makes large offers to Pizarro to place him on the throne, 16.
- Hudson's Bay*, and its climate described, v 367 The fur of animals there changed to white by the winter, 368 Peculiarities of the scattered natives, 369 How this bay was discovered, and obtained its name, 373 Settlement of, by the English, 374 Fur trade between the English and the Indians, *ibid* Capital and profits of the English Hudson's Bay Company, 375 Attempts to find a North West passage to the East Indies through this bay, with an examination of the arguments in favour of such a passage, 376 This passage should be sought for toward Welcome Bay. 378 The company unwilling to have such a passage discovered, 380
- Hudson's River*, in the province of New York, the navigation of described v. 461
- Hugley*, a Dutch settlement in Bengal, described, i 488
- Humming Bird*, of North America described vi 90
- Hurricanes* in the West Indies described, with an inquiry into the causes of them, iii 472
- Hyder Ali Khan*, engages in a war with the English East India Company, i. 467
- Hypothesis*, the time spent in forming of, suspends our researches after truth, iv 48

Jalap description and properties of that root, i 489 Its medical application, 490

Jamaica the island of taken from the Spaniards by the English commanders Penn and Venables, iii 492 The Spaniards retire to

- to Cuba 493 Description of the island, v. 42 The climate unwholesome, 43 Transactions between Columbus and the original natives *ibid* The natives exterminated by the Spaniards, 44 Character of the English conquerors of this island, 45 Character of governor Dudley, 46 Review of political regulations in force there, 47 How Jews are made honest there 48 Partial laws of inheritance, *ibid* Nature and manner of the illicit trade carried on with the Spaniards, 51 The ports of the island made free, 53 Productions cultivated there 54 Introduction of the sugar cane, 56 Present state of population and cultivation, 58 Taxes, 59 Exports to England, 61 Description of the harbours round the coast, 62 Destruction of Port Royal, 64 Rise of Kingston, 65 Inessential measures taken to establish Kingston as the metropolis of the island 66 The planters harassed by bands of fugitive Negroes, 67 Whom the inhabitants are unable to reduce, 69 A treaty made with the fugitive slaves by governor Trelawney 70 Severe treatment of the Negro slaves there, 73
 * Advantages and disadvantages of the situation of this island, 74
James I king of England his character, i 367 Disregards the insults offered to the English nation in the East, 371 How induced to prefer episcopal church government to the Presbyterian discipline, v 347
James II king of England, his character, and the consequences of his being deposed, i 383
Janizaries, those troops the masters of the Turkish empire, i 28 vi 271
Japan, the antiquity and form of government of that empire i 177 The religion of the country formed from its natural circumstances, 178 Comparison between the education of children there and in China, 180 The Portuguese favourably received there 181 Produce of the country, *ibid* A revolution in the government of, 224 Progress of the Christian religion there, 225 The Christians furiously persecuted by the new emperor 226 The Portuguese expelled and the Dutch tolerated 227 Articles of their trade with this country *ibid* Remarks on the national character of the Japanese, and the policy of their government, 229 Why they refused to receive the English 379
Java, first attempts of the Dutch to trade with that island i 214 A factory established there by Admiral Warwick 216 The manners of the inhabitants described 288 How the English came to be supplanted there by the Dutch 289 A view of the policy observed by the Dutch in strengthening their establishment in the island, 290 State of their trade with Bantam, 293 With Cheribon, *ibid* And with Mataram 294 The people defrauded by the Dutch in their mercantile dealings 297 Description of Batavia, 298 Odd brutal custom in that island, 368

- Jealousies*, natural, the common effects of, v. 426.
- Jersey*, New, see *New Jersey*
- Jesuits*, the principles on which they conducted their mission to Paraguay, iii 203. Confined themselves to the arts of persuasion, 204 Their division of lands, 205 Establish a system of regularity that prevented crimes, *ibid* Their government theocratical, *ibid* Their religious rites rendered attracting 207. Are calumniated, 208 Cause of their false accusations, 214 Conduct the trade of the natives, *ibid* Reflections on their scheme of government, 218 The mission of Paraguay taken out of their hands, 220 Civilize the natives of Brazil, 330 The great respect they gained there, *ibid* The result of their human-labours compared with that of the Spanish and Portuguese forces, 331 Instance of the confidence reposed in them, 332 Extraordinary sermon of Anthony Vieira, on the success, of the Dutch against Brazil, 340 Their mission up the river Amazons, 360 Inquiry into the motives of their missionary labours, 361 Declaration of an old missionary, 362
- Jesus Christ*, a review of his life and mission, vi. 331
- Jeus*, how they came to be stigmatized for exorbitant usury, i 26 Cruelly oppressed in France, ii 74 In Portugal, historical account of, iii 316 Why peculiarly exposed to the persecution of the inquisition, *ibid* Were banished to Brazil, 318 Driven out of Portugal to the great injury of their trade, 435 How tied to honest dealing in Jamaica, v 48 Benevolent wishes of the author for this race of men, 60 Their character constantly supported under all vicissitudes, vi 66
- Immortality* of the soul, the doctrine of, how suggested, vi 251.
- Impressing* of seamen, the English custom of, condemned, vi 401.
- Incas* of Peru, conjecture as to their origin, iii 20 Their method of extending their empire, 203
- Incontinence* defined, vi 561.
- Indigo* tree described, ii 492 It's proper soil and culture, *ibid*. The species of, 494 Method of preparation, 495 It's uses, 496 The places where it is chiefly cultivated, *ibid* Successful cultivation of, in South Carolina vi 69
- Industry*, commercial, the general maxims of European policy altered by, vi 412 It's happy operations, 413
- Infantry* the most formidable in war, vi 373 377
- Inheritance*, how secured at Constantinople, iii 152 Remarks on the right of primogeniture ii 499 A division of inheritance, how far injurious to the American islands, 501 The right of primogeniture striketh out, or the instance of Canada, v 294 The entails of estates unfavourable to population, vi 471
- India*, or Indostan, geographical description of that country, i 41 Peculiarity of the seasons there, *ibid* Why, probably the first inhabited part of the earth, 44 Religion, government, and manners of the natives, 45 The different casts or classes

of the people, 69. Conjectures as to the foundation of these distinctions, 74. Austerities practised by the Jagueys, or Indian monks, 76. Legal restrictions as to food, 80. The principle on which living wives burn themselves with their dead husbands inquired into, 81. The courage of the natives founded rather on prejudice than on character, 83. Low state of arts and sciences, 84. The source of the errors in their political system, inquired into, 87. State of the country at the first arrival of the Portuguese, 89. Historical account of the European commerce with, 96.

Was an inexhaustible fund of fictions and wonder to the ancient Greeks, *ibid.* Causes of it's early population and civilization, *ibid.* Became an easy conquest to Alexander, 115. Is united under the dominion of Sandrocottus, *ibid.* General view of the revolutions it underwent until subjected to the Patans, *ibid.* Is conquered by Tamerlane, 116. Is reduced under the dominion of Babar, 117. The empire of the Mogul Tartars established, *ibid.* The power of the conquerors restrained by their inferiority in numbers to the natives, 120. Landed property in, how held and parcelled out, 121. Taxes, 122. Security of personal property, *ibid.* Ostentation of the Mogul emperor in his public appearances, 124. Is easily conquered by Koul Khan, 127. Calamities produced by this disaster, *ibid.* European merchants reduced to attempt territorial power for their own security, 128. This scheme begun by Duplex, the French governor of Pondicherry, *ibid.* Account of the neighbouring enemies to the Mogul government, 133. Whether the commercial intercourse with, be advantageous to Europe, inquired into, 358. The limits between necessities and luxuries not easy to be defined, 360. The waste of lives in voyages considered, 361. Has introduced new articles of industry, 362. Objection that India absorbs the treasures of the universe, answered, 364. The necessity of keeping up a circulation of gold and silver, pointed out, 368. General review of the conduct and policy of those European nations who have opened an intercourse with these regions, 369. Remarks on the weak opposition the natives have made to their European invaders, 371. Political circumstances of the natives, 372. Climate, *ibid.* Religion, 373. Love, *ibid.* Their manner of carrying on war, 374. Obstacles to the total reduction of the country by Europeans, 377. Divided state of the several princes of, when the Europeans first arrived, 378. The system of the Europeans is, related by their ideas of the Marattas, 380. The more extensive their possessions there, the greater the expense of retaining them, 381. Their military establishments all the natives with apprehensions, *ib.* European garrisons great drain to the mother country, *ibid.* Their success there will produce speedy revolutions to acquire rapid fortunes, 382. Result of all of events, *ibid.* The natural tendency of these pacific views, 383. Discussion of the question whether the India trade

- trade ought to be conducted by exclusive companies or *indopēs* 385. The nature of this trade stated, 387 Why it must be carried on by associations, 388 Whose interest would be to unite in one company, 391 The origin of their exclusive privileges, 395 The political concerns of a company should be vested in the state, 396
- Indian Ocean*, M. Hurd's account of, i 40
- Indians of South America*, review of the antient and present state of, iii. 229 Great destruction of, in the mines, 270
- Indies*, how distinguished into East and West, iii 314
- Inkle and Yarico*, foundation of the story of, v 21
- Inoculation for the small-pox*, legally prohibited in New England; v 439
- Inquisition*, it's effect upon the character of the Spaniards, iii 263 Ought to be abolished, 279 Account of that in Portugal, 316 Why peculiarly applied to the persecution of the Jews, *ibid* A character of, vi 341
- Interest of money borrowed*, moral distinctions of the East Indians of Coromandel as to the rates of, i 459 Exorbitant, often ruinous both to the borrower and the lender, v 232
- Iraoson*, civilized nations seldom at a loss for pleas to justify it when convenient, i 255
- Joanna*, one of the Comora islands, beautiful verdure of, i. 496 Is frequented by the English as a port for refreshment, 497
- Jodda*, in the gulph of Arabia, account of the trade carried on at that port, i 408
- Jogues*, Indian Monks an account of, i 76
- John*, king of England, forced by a general confederacy of his Barons to grant the great charter of English liberties vi 296
- John's*, St. a West India island, subject to Denmark, it's present state of cultivation, iv 361 Number of inhabitants, *ibid*
- John*, St. in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, described v 234 Is settled by the French *ibid* The inhabitants excluded from the cod fishery, 235 It's state under British government, 390
- Iron*, a comparison of the qualities of that produced in different parts of the world, v 310
- Hogons*, origin of the war between them and the Algonquins, v. 182 Extent of their country, 183 Are assisted by the Dutch, 184 Are destroyed, 185
- Islands*, the government and manners of the inhabitants of, formed later than those of continental nations, i 355 ii 416 An inquiry into their formation, ii 16 ii 456 Substantaneous evidences of the revolutions of land and sea, 457
- Isle of France*, to the east of Madagascar settled by the French ii 107. Description of the island and remarks on it's importance to the French 177 Their affairs there ill conducted, 178 Is now under the regulation of government, and it's flourishing state in consequence, 179 Spices introduced there from the Molucca islands by M. Poivre, 180 May be made the bulwark of all the Indian possessions of the French, 182 Its defence neglected,

- ed, *ibid.* Hints as to the proper mode of softifying it, 184. This island and Pondicherry capable of affording each other mutual security, 187.
- Italy*, trade early cultivated in the republics of, i. 18. Surpassed all other states of Europe in the sixteenth century, 21.
- Juan Fernandez*, description of that island, ii. 281. Motives that induced the Spaniards to settle a colony there, 282.
- Jucatan*, the peninsula of, and it's inhabitants described, ii. 554.
- Jussieu*, M. Joseph de, the botanist, his labours for the improvement of natural knowledge and manufactures, iii. 96.

K.

- Karikal*, in the kingdom of Tanjour, revolutions of, ii. 170. Description of the country and inhabitants, with the trade carried on there by the French, *ibid.*
- Kingston*, in Jamaica, rise of that town, v. 65. Ineffectual measures taken to render that town the metropolis of the island, 66.
- Kouli Khan* drives the Afghans out of Persia, i. 414. Scheme formed by him for the extension of this empire, 423. Makes an easy conquest of the Indostan empire, ii. 126. Amazing wealth seized by him in his Indian expedition, 367.

L.

- Labour*, severe, not favourable to long life, v. 151.
- Ladrove* islands. See *Marianne* islands.
- Lally*, General, his character, ii. 140. His absurd conduct at the siege of Pondicherry, 141. Is condemned to death, *ibid.* Reflections on his prosecution, 142.
- Lama*, a Peruvian animal, described, iii. 123. It's qualities as a beast of burden, 124. Different species of, 125. Their flesh, skin, and fleece, 127.
- Lama*, Great, of Tartary, fabulous notions of his pretended immortality, ii. 283. Religion of, 284.
- Lancaster*, captain, commands the first fleet sent out by the English East India Company, i. 365.
- Land*, an inquiry whether its vegetative powers can be exhausted by cultivation, v. 103.
- Languages*, universality of the Latin, throughout the antient Roman empire, v. 532. Character of the modern Italian, French, and English, 533. The Spanish and German, 534. The refinement of languages keeps pace with that of all other arts, *ibid.*
- La Salle*, engages the court of France to patronize his attempts at discovery down the river Mississippi, v. 227. Discovers the mouth of the river, 238. Undertakes to sail to the mouth of the Mississippi by sea, and tries it, *ibid.* His death, 240.
- Lauragais*,

- Lauragais*, count, his successful attempt to transfigure porcelain, ii. 335.
- Lawrence*, St. river in Canada, might support a cod fishery, v. 314. The navigation of that river described, 315 350.
- Lavoisier*, account of his scheme for reforming the finances of France, ii. 87. Confusion upon his disappearing, 93. Account of his famous Mississippi scheme, v. 242. Deceives the French by false reports of rich mines in Louisiana, 245.
- Latius* made in opposition to nature will not be observed, i. 406, vi. 141. The origin of, 263. Of nature and of politics, the contrast between, *ibid.* Advantages resulting from the division of legislative power in the British government, 301.
- Laoses* for years or lives, of land, origin of, iv. 132.
- Legislation*, the true principles it ought to be founded on, vi. 131. The principles of, 348. Distinguished from policy, 354.
- Legislator*, contrast between the success of his labours on a new state, and on an ancient corrupt state, iv. 55.
- Lehmann*, his theory of the formation of mountains, iii. 101.
- Leibnitz*, his character, vi. 543.
- Le-nair*, Isaac, discovers the strait to which his name is given, i. 292.
- Leon*, Ponce de, attempts the conquest of Porto Rico, iv. 196. Reduces the inhabitants to slavery, 201. Discovers Florida, v. 139.
- Lepanto* the battle of, the most celebrated naval engagement in modern times, vi. 389.
- Leprosy*, a disorder peculiarly prevalent at Carthagena in America, iii. 54.
- Le Rat*, a Huron chief, his artifice to continue the war between the French and the Iroquois, v. 193.
- Louis XI.* was properly the first monarch of France, v. 316.
- Louis XIV.* of France, remarks on his political administration, ii. 64. 81. Instance of his pecuniary distresses, 82. His ineffectual attempts to establish a maritime force, iii. 526. His character compared with that of the emperor Charles V. of Germany, vi. 359.
- Liares*, the plant that furnishes the poison in which the South Americans dip their arrows, iv. 197. How the poison is prepared, and it's effects, 198.
- Liberty*, a comparative view of the tendency of the Romish and Mohammedan religion to depress it, i. 111. Three kinds of, distinguished, iv. 134. Compared with slavery, *ibid.* The right assumed by man over man inquired into, *ibid.*
- Lima*, when built, and its situation and soil described, iii. 146. Is destroyed by an earthquake, 147. It's speedy and judicious restoration, 149. Construction of the new houses, *ibid.* The streets regular, and well supplied with water, 150. Superstition of the inhabitants, *ibid.* Their manners, 152. Character and manners of the women, 153.

terature, character of the principal Italian writers, at the revival of, vi 529 Persecution destructive to knowledge, 537 Importance of, to mankind, 547
anda, St Paul de, capital of the Portuguese settlements in Africa, account of, iv 91
ange, on the coasts of Africa, account of the trade carried on there, iv 86
ans, public, the ruinous tendency of, vi 518
cker, Mr remarks on his constitutions for the government of Carolina, vi 56 His character, 544
gewood description of the tree which produces it, ii 555 History of the trade in, 556 The liberty of cutting it in the gulf of Honduras, secured to the English, 558
lonis, a buccaneer, his history, iii 502
mbards, the first who formed trading communities in Europe, 17 Their character and conduct, as the financiers of Europe during the infancy of commerce, ii 78
ndon, a character of that metropolis and of its inhabitants, 127
ong Island, on the coast of New York, described, v 461
enk, Henry, the Dutch Admiral, reduces the province of Pernambuco in Brazil, iii 359
eve, the different impulses of that passion in the different stages of human society, iii 76
ouis, St the port of at Maragnan in Brazil, described, i 387
ouisbourg, on the island of Cap-Breton, the harbour, town, and fortifications described, v 227 Captures of, by the English 317 319
Louisiana, discovery of that country, and an account of the first attempts of the French to settle in it, v 236 An exclusive grant of the trade of, obtained by Crozat, 242 Which is transferred to the famous Law, and his company, *ibid* The creation of the country injured by the failure of Law's schemes, 24 Description of Louisiana, 249 Its healthful climate and fertility 250 The river Mississippi and its navigation, 251 Conduct of the English and Spanish in the colonies adjoining, 254 Account of the native Indians 255 Conspiracy of the Natchez to exterminate the French, and its discovery, 258 War with the Chickasaws 260 Description of New Orleans, 262 Method of securing and cultivating Lower Louisiana, 264 Upper Louisiana ruined by the government, 265 Account of the Illinois country 266 Export of, 268 The Protestants driven from France, refused admission in Louisiana 276 Inconsiderate mode of granting lands there 277 The culture of tobacco neglected after the disgrace of Law 278 Consequences that would have followed the growth of tobacco *ibid* Is ceded to the Spaniards, 281 Examination into the right of France to make this transfer *ibid* The prohibition by the court of Spain to continue their usual trading connections, 285 Possession taken by Spain, 288

I N D E X.

- Leveillé*, the French Minister, his character, v 272.
- Low Countries*, comparison between the present and former circumstances of, ii 219 History of the Ostend East India Company, 220
- Lubeck* enjoys all the trade of Sweden till excluded by Gustavus Vasa, ii 227
- Lucay's Islands* See *Bahama Islands*
- Lucia*, St The English settlement there destroyed by the Caribs, iv 357 A settlement attempted there by the French, 359 Is finally secured to them, 360 Review of the measures taken by the French to cultivate this island, *ibid* Account of the soil and climate 363 Present produce and trade, 364 Causes that have retarded its improvement, 366 Description of Castagne harbour, 368 Its advantages and disadvantages stated, *ibid*
- Luconia* See *Manilla*
- Lunenburg*, a colony of Germans, formed in Nova Scotia, v 427
- Luques*, Fernando de, a priest, associates with Pizarro and Almagro, in their scheme upon Peru, iii 10.
- Luxury*, the advantages and disadvantages of, philosophically considered, ii 358 The limits of meer necessities difficult to ascertain, 360

M

- Macao*, an island in the harbour of Canton, granted to the Portuguese, i 176 The present state of trade there, 201 ii 352
- Mace*, the production of that spice described, i 235
- Madagascar*, ill conducted attempt of the French to settle on that island, ii 11 Its situation and dimensions 14 The coasts of, wly unwholesome *ibid* Productions of the interior parts, 15 The inhabitants, 16 The Quis offe, *ibid* Rude state of society among the natives, 18 Peculiarity of their manners and customs, 19 Arrival of French ships to form settlements, 21 Proper system of civilization for the island, 22 Convenient situation for colonies 23 No harbour round the island, 24 Bay of Tamatave capable of improvement, *ibid* Misconduct and ruin of the French adventurers, 25 Are exhorted to future trials, more maturely digested, 26 Unsuccessful attempt of Martin to establish a French colony there, 67
- Madeira* the island of, discovered by the Portuguese, under the auspices of their prince Henry, i 30 Is peopled and cultivated, 33 Exhibits evidences of an ancient volcano, 34 Account of the vintages there, 35 Political state of the colony, 36
- Madras*, reasons offered to account for the disadvantageous situation *ibid*

- Magellan*, Streight of, discovered, and an account of the neighbouring inhabitants, iii. 161. Extent and situation of the Streight, 162. A colony attempted there by the Spaniards: *ibid.* This streight disused by navigators learning to double Cape Horn, 163. But is preferable at proper seasons, 184.
- Magury*, a Mexican plant described, and the uses to which it is applicable, ii. 481.
- Mabe*, how the French acquired an exclusive right to the pepper trade in that district, ii. 164. Description of the settlement there, *ibid.* Estimate of the trade that might be carried on there, 165.
- Mohammed*, his religion the most unfavourable of any to the liberties of mankind, i. 111.
- Majesty* of the people, a phrase first used by the English, and sufficient to consecrate their language, vi. 533.
- Maize*, description of that plant and it's grain, vi. 102. Indian method of cultivating and preparing it for food, *ibid.* Is encouraged in the British colonies, 103.
- Malabar*, coast of, general account of it's productions, i. 110. The Portuguese settlers there supplanted by the Dutch, 261. Review of the trade carried on by the Dutch there, 270. Extent of the country known under that name, 425. Account of the kingdom of Travencor, 427. The English factory at Anjengo, 429. The kingdom of Cochin, 433. The kingdom of Calicut, *ibid.* The principal exports of Malabar, 436. Account of the Maratta nation, 442. Present state of the French on that coast, ii. 163.
- Malacca* description of the country, government, and inhabitants of, i. 119. Was the most considerable market in India at the first arrival of the Portuguese there, 121. The capital city of, reduced by Albuquerque, 122. Character of the Malays, 123. How the Dutch established themselves in that country, 251. The chief trade there now in the hands of the English, 258.
- Maldivia* islands and their inhabitants described, i. 425. The ports of, 426.
- Malloust*, M his successful attempts for the improvement of French Guiana, iv. 346 356
- Mamelukes*, establish themselves in Egypt during the crusades, 104. Constitute the real force of Egypt, iv. 9
- Man*, whether more happy in a savage state than in civilized society, v. 359. Evidences of his being formed and destined for association, vi. 262. Traced through the several revolutions of society, 264. His character determined by the mode of government he lives under, 353. Better for him to be enervated by sedentary employments, than to endure the hardships of war, 412. His innate animosity to his fellow-creatures, 430. His character unjustly treated by detractors, 548. His obligations separated from society inconceivable, 553. His duties defined, 554. Lives under three codes, 556.

- Marchtree*, the tree, with the juice of which the Caribs poison their arrows, described, iv. 198. Salt, a specific against this poison, 199.
- Manco Capac*, the founder of the Peruvian empire, his institutions, iii. 22.
- Mandarin*, the nature of, and qualifications for, this rank in China, i. 147. All officers of state elected out of this order of men, *ibid*.
- Mangroves*, how produced in Guiana, iv. 260.
- Manichæism*, the origin of, vi. 251.
- Manilla*, the capital of the Philippine Islands, described, ii. 265. Government of, *ibid*. Account of the annual galleon that sail from that port to Acapulco, 521.
- Manioc*, a plant introduced into the Caribbee Islands from Africa, iv. 157. Description and cultivation of it, 158. Its preparation for food, 159.
- Manners*, the depravity of, completed by gallantry, vi. 563.
- Manatib*, dangerous to the pearl divers at Panama, and how they defend themselves against it, iii. 156.
- Manufactures*, the nature of those carried on in every country determined by the climate, vi. 458. Other advantages necessary to their success, 459. How affected by forms of government, 460. Inquiry into the proper situations for, 461.
- Maragnan*, in Brazil, historical description of that government, iii. 386.
- Marattas*, history and character of that people, i. 442. ii. 135. How exposed to disagreements with the English, i. 451. In what light considered by Europeans, ii. 380.
- Margaretta*, account of that island, iv. 194. Reasons why the Spaniards retain it, *ibid*. Character of the present inhabitants, 195. Method of curing beef there, *ibid*.
- Marianne Islands* described, ii. 524. Account of the inhabitants, and produce, *ibid*. The natives formerly unacquainted with fire, 525. The women there reported to have enjoyed a superiority over the men, 526. The truth of this fact questioned, as contrary to all other experience, 527. Peculiar construction of their canoes, 528. Were discovered by Magellan, and till lately neglected, 529. Description of Guam, 530.
- Marigalante*, an island near Guadalupe, account of, iv. 405.
- Marina*, the Indian concubine of Cortez, her history, ii. 435. Serves as his interpreter and adviser, 434.
- Marine Society*, establishment of, at London, iii. 549.
- Marseilles*, account of the company there for managing the trade with Algiers, iv. 27.
- Martba*, St in America, history of that province, iii. 58. The inhabitants distinguished only by ignorance and superstition, 59.
- Martin* of Canada described, v. 199.
- Martin*, St island of, described, iv. 251. Is jointly settled by the Dutch and French, 252. Present state of the island, and its produce, 253.

Martinica, island of, taken from the French by the English iii 553.
 Described, iv 371 Is first settled by Frenchmen from St Christopher's, *ibid* Their contest with the Caribs, 372 The Caribs exterminated, 373 First labours of the French inhabitants-
ibid How coffee was introduced into the island, 374 Its natural advantages, 375 Its present prosperity, 376 Review of the commerce carried on there *ibid* Description of the harbour of Port Royal, 379 Town of St Peter's, 380 Nature of the trade carried on there, 381 Amount and value of its exports, 389 Inquiry whether the island is improveable, 390 Its strength against invasion, 393

Maryland, is settled by Lord Baltimore with English Catholics, vi 31 The country and climate described, 34 Present number of inhabitants 35 Tobacco the principle article of cultivation there, *ibid* St Mary, Annapolis and Baltimore, the only towns in the province, 40 Abounds with iron mines, 41 Manufactures lately introduced there, *ibid* Export of tobacco, 53

Madagascaris, an island to the east of Madagascar, settled by some French adventurers, ii 106 The name changed to Bou bon, 107

Mascat, in the Persian gulph, the trade of, transferred to Ormus by Albuquerque, i 421 The commerce of, revived by the English 422

Massachusetts Bay, the charter of that colony how taken away and altered, v 443 Present number of inhabitants, 445 Description of the city of Boston, 450 The harbour, 451

Masulipatan, account of the trade carried on there by the English, i 463 By the French ii 169

Mataram, on the island of Java, how the Dutch acquired a superiority over that kingdom, i 294 A view of their trade there, 295

Maurice, Prince is commissioned by Holland to conquer Brazil, iii 339. Reduces the whole coast, *ibid* Is recalled 348

Mauritius island of, settled by the French ii 107

Mecca, measures taken by Mahomet to improve the ancient regard paid by the Arabs to that city, i 411 Advantages derived from the pilgrimages to it *ibid*

Melasset, amount of the exportation of from the French American settlements, iv 514 The trade of, injudiciously sacrificed to that of brandy, 515

Merchant, the character of, in no estimation among the Romans, i 15 Character of with his objects of attention, vi 414 Moral instructions to merchants, 418

Mercury, see *Quicksilver*

Mestee, the race of, in South America, how produced, ii 189 Their rank, 223

Metals, natural history of ii 506 Where generally produced, and the indications of, 507 Great labour and danger of procuring them, 508 How separated from the ore *ibid*

Metempsychosis,

- Atetempylchosis*, influence of that doctrine upon the civil and religious laws of Indostan, i. 60. Mythological account of this doctrine, 78. Probable origin of the notion, *ibid*
- Mexico*, expedition of Cortez to, ii. 431. Supineness of the emperor Montezuma, on the arrival of the Spaniards, 434. General aspect of the country, 441. Religion and superstition of the Mexicans, 444. Death of the emperor, 447. Laws of the empire, 450. The country reduced by the Spaniards, 452. The capital city of Mexico described, 453. Is taken by the Spaniards, 455. Reasons to suppose great exaggeration in the Spanish accounts of Mexico and its magnificence, 456. Remarks on the native government of, 458. State of agriculture there, 461. Manners and customs of the natives, 462. Their houses and furniture, *ibid*. Low state of arts and sciences among them, 463. Their origin inquired into, 465. Population of the country, 466. Extent of the empire, 468. Regulations made by the Spaniards, on subjecting the country, 469. History of Mexico as a Spanish province, 470. Thirty-eight victims burnt at an *Auto de fe*, on account of the loss of a fleet, 478. Reflections on this horrid act of expiation, *ibid*. Discovery of, and commotions in New Mexico, 479. Other disturbances in these provinces, 481. Present state and produce of, 486. Various other exports of, 504. Produce of the mines, 510. Manufactures, 511. Causes why this province is not more flourishing, pointed out, 512. Amazing diminution of the natives, 513. Description of the capital city, as rebuilt by Cortez, 514. Opulence and luxury of the citizens, 515. The city relieved from the inconveniences and dangers of floods, 519. Other improvements in contemplation, *ibid*. The connections formed between this country and the Philippine Islands, 520. Account of the military force maintained there by Spain, 562.
- Mines*, of Mexico, produce of, ii. 510. Of Peru, an account of, iii. 130. Regulations made for working them, 245. Great destruction of lives in, 270. Annual amount of the gold and silver sent to Spain from, 286. Attention ought to be paid to simplifying the operation of working the mines, 287. Gold mines in Brazil, 406. How worked, 407. Produce of, 408. Diamond mines, 415.
- Ministers of State*, how formed in general, vi. 366. Their usual conduct, 367. Dialogue between the author and a minister, 494. Their duty, 508. Characters improper for sovereigns to employ, 510.
- Miquelon*, number of French inhabitants on the two islands of, v. 413.
- Miracles*, ancient, the complexion of, illustrated by a recent occurrence, iii. 352.
- Misfortunes*, the source of religion, vi. 250.

- Mississippi*, river, discovered by the French, v. 236. Is navigated by La Salle, 238. And by Yberville, 240. Account of the famous Law's Scheme, 242. This river described, 251. It's navigation, 252. It's entrance, 253. 256.
- Mobile*, Fort, in West Florida, it's situation and use, v. 261.
- Mocha*, in Arabia, account of the trade carried on at that port, i. 404.
- Moguls*, manners and customs of, ii. 36. The empire of, founded in Indostan by Babar, 117.
- Molucca Islands* described, i. 124. Their inhabitants and productions, *ibid.* Are discovered by the Chinese, 128. Are visited by the Dutch, 214. The Portuguese excluded by the Dutch, 231. Easy for any European state to deprive the Dutch of them, 338.
- Monastic society*, a review of, v. 207. Origin of, vi. 474
- Monks*, reflections on their character and their authority in Spanish America, ii. 480.
- Monopolies*, unjust and pernicious, vi. 422.
- Monsoons*, dry and rainy, in India, account of, i. 42.
- Montbar*, a Buccancer, his history, iii. 500.
- Monte Christo*, in the island of St. Domingo, accounts of its trade, iv. 213.
- Montezuma*, emperor of Mexico, his negligent behaviour on the first arrival of the Spaniards on his coasts, ii. 434. His character, 438. Temporizes with Cortez, 442. Is seized and confined by Cortez, 443. His death, 447.
- Montreal*, the island and town of, in Canada, described, v. 293.
- Montserrat*, the island of, first discovered by Columbus, and settled by the English, v. 30. Present state of population, and it's productions, 31.
- Moors*, were the first who sailed over the Atlantic ocean, i. 29
- Morality*, the difference of, in savage and in civilized society, iii. 322. The bulwark of laws, vi. 548. It's principles universal, 549. Is the basis on which all systems of religion are founded, 550. Was separated from religion by Socrates, 551. The two tribunals by which human actions are judged, *ibid.* The obligations of man separated from society, inconceivable, 553. It's principles uniform, but their application various, according to local circumstances, 554.
- Morgan*, an English freebooter of Jamaica, takes Porto-Bello, iii. 504. Takes St. Catharine's, 505. Takes Panama, 506. Carries away spoil clandestinely from his associates to Jamaica, 507.
- Moro Castle*, at Havannah, strength of it's fortifications, iv. 232.
- Morocco*, account of the government of that empire, and it's force, iv. 31. Annual caravan to Upper Guinea, for gold, 32. Foreign trade of, 36.
- Mozambique* trade the staple of the Portuguese trade with Africa, i. 183.
- Mountains*, philosophical inquiry into the origin of, iii. 99. Lehmann's theory of, 101.

- Mulattoes* in Spanish America, who, iii 228
Musie, on what occasion introduced into Christian churches, i 27.
Musk, the natural history of, and the arts by which it is adulterated, i 477
Musk-rat of Canada, described, v 198
Mythology of the Bramins of India, i 49 77

N

- Nabobs* in Indostan, the nature of their dignity and authority, ii 121 Their independence to be dated from the conquests of Kouli Khan, 127
Narvaex, sent by Velasquez to supersede Cortez in his Mexican expedition, is defeated and taken prisoner by him, ii 443
Natchez, an Indian tribe in Louisiana, their manners and customs, v 255 Description of the country on which they are settled, 256 Are, by ill treatment from the French, induced to form a conspiracy to exterminate them, 258 The plot discovered, *ibid*
National distinctions, the use of, in the rude stages of human society, i 274
National spirit, how formed, iii 310 Jealousy, it's destructive operations iv 242
Nations, the philosophical study of, interesting, ii 225
Nature, why none of the productions of, are perfect, vi 522
Navigation, the first attempts of, in Europe, i 13 Confined nature of, before the invention of the compass 98 Historical review of the military application of, vi 388
Navigation Act, English, motives to the establishing this law, v 17
Navy, military, must have a trading one for it's basis, ii 307 Remarks on that of France, with the means of improving it iv 535
Neckar, Madame, account of the hospital established by her, iv 225
Negapatnam, on the coast of Coromandel, account of the Dutch factory there, i 268
Negroes, great importation of, into Spanish America, ii 224 Reflections on the slave trade, 226 Inquiry into the cause of their black colour, iv 42 See *Slave trade*
Nevis, first settlement of that island, and its description v 31 Number of the inhabitants and their character, 32. It's disorders and present state, *ibid*
New-England, it's first discovery, v 340 Is settled by English refugees, 429 The first colonists strengthened by an accession of Puritans, and the four provinces of formed, 430 Form of government established, 431 Persons persecuted for religious opinions 432 Ordinance published against wearing long hair, 433 Persecution of the Quakers 434 Is thrown into confusion by religious disputations, 436 Numbers of persons judicially put to death for witchcraft, 437 Reflections on these criminal disorders of the human mind, 438 Rage of the

I N D E X.

the inhabitants against the introduction of inoculation for the small-pox, 439. Inoculation prohibited, 440. Boundaries and extent of the colony, 441. Regulations under which settlements are extended, 442. Remarks on the climate, *ibid.* The four provinces of, how connected in government, 443. Alterations in the charter of Massachusetts's Bay, 444. Present number of inhabitants, 445. Nature of the soil, *ibid.* Manufactures, 446. Fisheries, 447. Articles of export, 449. Description of the city of Boston, 450.

Newfoundland, a cod fishery first carried on there by the French, v. 145. It's situation and description, 392. It's discovery, and history of English and French transactions there, 393. Harbour of St. John's, 394. French town formed on the bay of Placentia, 395. A parallel between this and other American settlements, 396. The whole island secured to the English by the peace of Utrecht, 397. Description of the cod fish, *ibid.* Account of the great bank on which the cod are found, 398. The cod fishery there, 399. Disputes between the English and the French about the limits of the fishery of the latter, 409. Rise of the English, and decay of the French fisheries, 415.

New Jersey, is first settled by Swedes, then conquered by the Dutch, and lastly surrendered to the English, v. 464. The two provinces of, united under one government, 465. Present number of inhabitants, 466. Remarks on the historical obscurity of this colony, *ibid.* It's dependent circumstances, 467. Means proposed for advancing it's prosperity, 468.

New Orleans, it's situation, settlement, and description, v. 262.

New World, great changes produced by the discovery of, i. 1.

New-York, it's boundaries and extent, v. 451. Is settled by the Dutch, 452. Is seized by the English, 455. Is ceded to the English, *ibid.* The government of, regulated, 456. The Romish religion favoured there, under the influence of the duke of York, *ibid.* Frame of government established after the revolution in England, 457. Is harassed by wars against the French in Canada, 458. Fort Oswego built, 459. It's division into counties, and the navigation of Hudson's River, described, 461. Long Island, *ibid.* Number of inhabitants, 462. The city of New-York, *ibid.* Former and present manners of the inhabitants contrasted, 463.

Newton, Sir Isaac, his character, vi. 543.

Niagara, Fort, it's situation described, v. 297.

Nicaragua, the province of, alternately subject to two extremes of floods and drought, ii. 545.

Niger, account of the Africans seated on the banks of that river, iv. 64. See *Senegal*.

Nile, description of that river, iv. 5.

Nobility, an analysis of, iv. 537. An odious distinction, when not obtained by services of utility to the state, vi. 447.

Nopal, the shrub on which the cochineal animal breeds, described, i. 499. How cultivated for the sake of cochineal, 500.

Normans,

- Normans*, ancient, their character, i. 12. Were the first who carried on any intercourse with Africa, 36.
- Northern Nations*, how their conquests over the Roman empire were facilitated, i. 10.
- North-West Passage* to the East Indies, examination of the arguments in favour of, v. 377. This passage should be sought for toward Welcome Bay, 378. The existence of such a passage to be determined by captain Cook, 382.
- Norway*, colonies sent from, to the Orcades, Fero, and Iceland, iv. 291. The navigators of, probably reached the northern extremities of America long before the time of Columbus, 292. See *Denmark*.
- Nova Scotia*, it's situation, and description, v. 415. First settlement of, by the French, 416. Is ceded to England, 419. Annapolis built, *ibid.* Manners of the French inhabitants, 421. Distribution of lands to English disbanded soldiers, 424. Fate of the French neutrals, 425. Lunenburg settled by Germans, 427. Quantity of shipping, and exports of the colony, *ibid.* Advantages derived by, from the American war, 428.
- Nunnez Vela*, Blasco, is sent over as viceroy of Peru, to reform the government there, iii. 41. His character, and rash measures, 42. Is degraded and banished by the Spaniards in power there, 44. Is recalled, but killed in the civil commotions, 45.
- Nutmegs*, first discovered in the Molucca islands by the Chinese, i. 26. Description of the tree which produces them, with the properties of the fruit, 36.

O.

- Oaths*, reflections on the frequent imposition of, in civil society, i. 310.
- Oaxaca*, a province of Mexico, peculiar for the production and culture of cochineal, ii. 502. The town of that name described, 503.
- Ocean*, it's use in preserving an equipoise over the face of the earth, v. 351.
- Oglethorpe*, General, conducts the first colonists sent over to Georgia, vi. 74.
- Ohio river*, discovery of, by the French, and it's description, v. 322. Forts built along the river, to confine the English, who destroy them, 323.
- Oil*, it's property of calming the agitations of the sea, v. 400. Vegetable oil more effectual than animal oil for this purpose, *ibid.*
- Olive*, the cultivation of, recommended to the Portuguese, iii. 435.
- Omrabi*, of the Indostan empire, foundation of that dignity, ii. 119. Fluctuating nature of their authority, 120.
- Osoniague*,

I. N D E X.

- Onontague*, an old Iroquois, his remarkable fortitude at death, v. 196.
- Opium*, how prepared in the East, from white poppies, i. 482. Is chiefly produced in the province of Bahar, 483. Is highly prized for it's intoxicating powers, *ibid*.
- Opossum* of Canada described, v. 193.
- Orellana*, Pizarro's lieutenant, sails up the river Amazons in South America, iii. 354. His voyage excited more curiosity than it produced information, 357.
- Orixa*, a province bordering on the coast of Coromandel, included under it in description, i. 451. Is supposed to be coveted by the English East India Company, 465.
- Orleans*, duke of, regent of France, review of his administration, in the finances, ii. 83. His personal character, 90.
- Orleans*, New. See *New Orleans*.
- Ormus*, description of that city, and the manners of the inhabitants, i. 113. Is reduced and fortified by Albuquerque, 114. The Portuguese expelled by Schah Abbas with the assistance of the English, 375.
- Orsonoko*, the course, magnitude, and peculiarities of this river, iii. 75. Account of the original native Indians bordering on it, 76. Consequences of the tyrannical treatment of their women, 79. Remonstrance of an Indian woman reproached with the murder of her female infant, 80. Spanish settlements and improvements on the banks of this river, 81.
- Orry*, superintendent of the French finances, his character, ii. 104.
- Ostend*, considerations which led to the formation of an Austrian East India Company there, ii. 220. It's successful beginnings, 221. Is opposed by the Dutch and English, 223. Is sacrificed to the political interests of the court of Vienna, 224.
- Oswego*, fort, built to interrupt the fur trade of the French in Canada, v. 459.
- Otter*, a description of that animal, v. 197.
- Ottoman*, the founder of the Turkish empire, vi. 269.
- Ounce*, or wild cat of Canada, described, v. 199.
- Oxenstiern*, Chancellor, his opinion of statesmen, vi. 366.

P.

- Pacha* of Egypt, his precarious authority, iv. 9.
- Pacari*, a Peruvian beast of burden, described, iii. 125. Their flesh, skin, and fleece, 126.
- Paganism*, causes of it's giving way to the Christian religion, vi. 254.
- Pagodus*, Indian, general character of i. 84.
- Palm wine*, from what, and how prepared in Mexico, ii. 481.
- Palmyra*, ancient opulence, and destruction of that city, i. 102.
- Panama*, the town of, founded by Pedrarias, iii. 9. Is destroyed by pirates, 155. It's jurisdiction and pearl fishery, 156. Description of the present town, 157. The isthmus ought to be cut

- ent through, to open a communication with the South Sea, 305
- Paper*, Chinese, an account of, ii 344 Their hanging paper, 345
- Paper currency*, the inconveniences occasioned by, in the British American colonies, vi 137 That of the congress not cordially received, 219
- Para*, in Brazil, historical description of that government, iii 382
- Paraguay*, it's boundaries and extent, iii 185 Account of the river from which the country derives it's name, 186 Manners and customs of the natives, *ibid* First discovery of, by the Spaniards, 187 Three large provinces formed in this district by the Jesuits, 191 Natural produce of the country, *ibid* Number of inhabitants, 192 Account of the herb Paraguay, 196 Great trade with mules and other cattle, 198 The trade and communication with Buenos Ayres, how carried on, 199 Wild bulls killed for the hides, 200 Revenue from, to Spain, 201 Principles on which the Jesuits founded their mission there 203 Why population has not succeeded here, 207 Incursions of the Portuguese, 212 The small pox, 213 The climate, *ibid* The mission of, taken from the Jesuits, 220
- Paraguay*, the herb described, iii 196 It's uses in South America, 198
- Paraiba*, in Brazil some account of that district, iii 388
- Paramaribo*, the chief town of Surinam, described, iv 269
- Park*, Colonel, governor of Antigua, his mal administration, and death, v 29
- Patans*, from the mountains of Candahar overrun the Indostan empire ii 116 Their present situation and character, 133
- Paina*, mineral productions of this province, i 490
- Patriotism*, chiefly to be found in small states, i 131
- Paul*, St in Brazil, a town built by felons transported from Portugal, iii 403 Their depredations over the country, 404 Submit to orderly government, *ibid*
- Pea*, Angola, the plant prescribed, iv 157
- Peice*, political, no where to be found, vi 370
- Pearls* how produced iv 192 Erroneous popular opinions relating to, *ibid* Different kinds of, and artificial ones, 193
- Pearl* fishery on the coast of the island of Ceylon, some account of, i 263. Another on the island Bah'ren 423 At Panama, described, ii 155 That at Cubagua exhausted iv 194
- Pedrarías*, is sent by the court of Spain to supersede Balboa at Darien, and puts him to death, iii 9 Finds the settlement of Panama on the Southern Ocean *ibid*
- Pegu*, a province on the bay of Bengal, furnishes the American merchants with precious stones, i 481
- Penn*, Admiral, his unsuccessful attack upon St Domingo, iii 491 Reduces Jamaica, 492
- Penn*, William, receives a territory in America from the English government, in discharge of debts owing to his father the admiral,

I N D E X

- miral, vi 10 Calls it Pennsylvania, and settles it with quakers,
ibid Purchases the land of the Indians, and conciliates their af-
 fections, 11 The legislative principles of his government, 13
Pennsylvania, this country granted by the English government to
 William Penn, who gives name to it, vi 10 Is settled by
 persecuted quakers, who conciliate the friendship of the Indians,
ibid Equitable principles of government established, 11
 Distribution of lands, 13 Rapid progress of the colony, 14
 It's boundaries and extent, *ibid* It's climate, and division into
 countries, 15 The soil, *ibid* It's prosperous cultivations,
 16 Account of the Dampiers, and their city Euphrates, 17
 The harmony of all sects in this colony, 19 Number of in-
 habitants, and their manners, *ibid* Taxes, 20 Their mar-
 riages, 21 Their funerals, 22 Produce, manufactures,
 and trade, 23 Method of clearing lands, and establishing
 plantations, 25 Description of the city of Philadelphia, *ibid*
 This city, and the country, unprovided for any kind of de-
 fence, 29 Inquiry whether the inhabitants are therefore the less se-
 cure, *ibid*
Pepper, description of the shrub that produces it, i 439 It's na-
 tive places of growth and culture, *ibid* The trade of, divided
 among the English, Dutch, and French, 440
Perfection, always followed by degeneracy, vi 524.
Persecution for religion, an obstacle to population, vi 475
Parses, their distinguishing tenets, ii 29 Their manners and
 customs 34
Persia, review of the ancient history of i 372 Account of the
 victories and government of Schah Abbas the Great, 373 The
 Portuguese driven from Ormus by the assistance of the English,
 375 A trade established at Gombroon by the English, *ibid*.
 The trade of, declines, under a succession of weak princes, 413
 Is conquered by the Afghans, 414 Who are driven out by
 Kouli Khan, *ibid*
Persia, Gulph of, account of the districts round and the inhabit-
 ants, i 420 Account of the city of Mascate, and it's trade,
 421
Peru, state of that empire when invaded by Pizarro, iii 13 The
 Inca Atabalipa seized by Pizarro, 16 He is basely put to
 death, 18 The country plundered by the Spaniards, *ibid*.
 Remarks on the facility of this revolution, 19 This empire
 probably first founded by shipwrecked navigators, 20 P'anco
 Capac, and his institutions 22 Civil policy, 24 Distr bu-
 tion of lands, 25 Reflections on the state of property there,
 26 The Peruvians ignorant of the use of coin, while abound-
 ing in gold and silver, 28 No reason to doubt the relations of
 the Spaniards concerning their history and civil institutions, 29.
 The same credit not due to the accounts of their grandeur and
 magnificence, 30 Their palaces and fortifications, 31 Their
 aqueducts and reservoirs, 32 Their roads and bridges, *ibid*
 Their historical registers, 33 Their baths, artificial gardens,
 and

I N D E X.

- and sculpture, *ibid.* The Spanish accounts of these matters reduced to probability and truth, 34. Their peculiar art in manufacturing copper, 35. Inquiry into the nature of their tools, 36. Were ignorant of the mechanical uses of wood, *ibid.* Confusions that ensued by rapacious quarrels among the Spaniards, 37. Massacre of Pizarro and his adherents, by Almagro the younger, 38. Review of the regulations made by the court of Spain for the government of this province, 41. Despotic conduct of Gonzales Pizarro, 44. Arrival of the priest Pedro de la Gasca, 46. End of Pizarro and his confident Carvajal, *ibid.* Reflections on the conduct of the Spaniards there, 47. Extent of the empire, 49. Maladies to which the inhabitants are liable, 106. The country peculiarly subject to earthquakes, 107. Singularities of climate in Upper Peru, 109. Rain, a phenomenon seldom seen, 110. No springs, and few rivets in Lower Peru, 111. Evidences of a great former population, 112. Peru worse treated by it's conquerors than Mexico, *ibid.* Degeneracy of the natives under the hand of oppression, 113. Introduction of Negroes to supply the decrease of native inhabitants, 114. Why more Spaniards there than in Mexico, *ibid.* Present state of the country described, *ibid.* Description of Cusco, the ancient metropolis, 119. Animals peculiar to the country, 123. Manufactures, 128. Mines, 130. Those of gold and silver, 135. Ancient Peruvian method of building, 147. The dominion of monkish superstition over the inhabitants, 150. Character of the women, 153. Estimate of the present trade of this province, 165. Defenceless state of, 313.
- Peter I.* czar of Russia, attempts to open a communication between Siberia and India, ii. 291. Amount of his revenue, 298. Projected several inland navigations, 301. His law for the enfranchisement of vassals, *ibid.* Reforms his troops 303. His measures for making Russia a maritime power, 306. Remarks on his character and administration, 309.
- Peter*, St. on the coast of Newfoundland, and it's French inhabitants, described, v. 413.
- Petrarch*, his character, vi. 529.
- Philadelphia*, the capital of Pennsylvania, described, vi. 25. The town-house, 27. The public library, *ibid.* The college, *ibid.* It's quays, 28. Number of inhabitants, *ibid.* Is entirely unprovided with works of defence, 29.
- Philip II.* of Spain, persecutes his subjects in the Low Countries, on account of religion, i. 210. The republic of Holland established, 211. His political character, vi. 358.
- Philip III.* of Spain, has a political character, vi. 358.
- Philippine Islands*, their situation, extent, and general appearance, ii. 257. Their produce and climate, 259. The inhabitants, *ibid.* Missionaries sent thither from Spain, 262. Errors in their conduct, *ibid.* The islands improved by Chinese emigrants, 264. Foundation and description of the city of Manila,

I N D E X.

265. Spanish government there, *ibid.* The Chinese banished from them, 268. Are infested by Malay pirates, 269. Reflections on the management of these islands, and of their importance to Spain, 270. A trade settled between these islands and America, 521. Account of the annual galleon that passes between Manilla and Acapulca, *ibid.*

Philosophers; apostrophe to, in behalf of the liberties of mankind, i. 87. Under no influence to depart from truth, ii. 357.

Philosophy, conclusions of, respecting religion, vi. 257. The cultivation of, follows that of the fine arts, 538. Characters of the principal Grecian philosophers, *ibid.* Remained buried in the dust of the cloisters, after the subversion of the Roman empire, 540. Origin of the philosophy of the schools, 541. Important consequences that resulted from the experiments of Friar Bacon, 542. Discoveries made by other experimental philosophers, *ibid.* The first academy of natural philosophy founded in Italy, 545. The method of analysis taught, *ibid.* Importance of philosophic studies, 546.

Phœnicians owed their consequence among ancient nations to commerce, i. 4. Extended their trade to Britain, 354. Are the first merchants on record, vi. 404.

Pimento, or Jamaica pepper, description of the tree that bears it, v. 56.

Pitch, how prepared from tar, vi. 66.

Pitt, Mr. the English minister, his character, iii. 547. His vigorous and successful administration, 550. Remarks on his resignation, 555. His plan of conduct examined, 556.

Pizarro, Francis, his birth and character, iii. 10. Forms the scheme of conquering the empire of Peru, *ibid.* His first voyage unsuccessful, 11. Embarks again, 12. Enters Peru, and marks his course by rapine, 13. His interview with Atabalipa, 14. Takes Atabalipa prisoner, 16. Puts him to death, 18. He and his followers plunder the country, *ibid.* His disputes with Almagro, 37. Defeats and beheads him, 38. Persecutes his followers, *ibid.* Is assassinated by them in Lima, 39.

Pizarro, Gonzales, usurps the supreme authority in Peru, and defeats the viceroy Nunnez, iii. 44. His triumphant entry into Lima, 45. Is defeated and put to death by Gasca, 46.

Placentia, bay of, at Newfoundland, a French town built there, v. 395. This settlement oppressed by French governors, 396.

Platina, a metallic substance found in Peru, described, iii. 131. Natural history of, *ibid.* Process of purifying it, 132. It's properties, 133. It's uses, 135.

Plato, his account of the supposed ancient island of Atlantis, i. 31. His character, vi. 539.

Pointis, commodore of a French fleet, associates the Buccaneers in the reduction of Carthage, iii. 515. Is menaced with death by the Buccaneers for defrauding them, 517.

Poland,

I N D E X.

- Island*, examination of the constitution of government in that country, vi 287 How the country became exposed to disturbance by ambitious neighbours, 289.
- Pele Cat*, of Canada, described, v 195
- Pellay*, diminished from legislation, vi 354. Was confined to the court of Rome during the middle ages, 355. The modern system of, formed by Charles V and Francis I 357. True policy of Europe, 364
- Political errors*, the source of, inquired into, i 87
- Politics*, complicated nature of the science of, iv 517. The various qualifications necessary for the study of, *ibid* Why political truths are rather to be addressed to the public at large, than to governors, 524 The views of, very confined, v 334 338 Of Europe, the general maxims of, altered by the operations of industry, 391.
- Polytheism*, the origin of, vi 251.
- Pondac*, an American chief, instance of his magnanimity, vi 93
- Pondicherry*, that settlement fortified by the French, ii 64. Taken by the Dutch, but restored, 65 Skilful management of Martin, the director of the French East India Company, *ibid* Dumas protects the family of the nabob of Arcot against the Marattas, 105 Is defended by Dupleix against the English, 114 Is taken by the English from M. Lally and destroyed, 141. Description of the town before it's destruction, 171. Is now restored by the French, 172
- Peolabab*, in Indostan, an account of that people, i 89
- Popes of Rome*, their usurpations over the English, v. 345
- Population*, inquiry into the ancient population of the world, vi 462 Causes of present complaints of the decline of, 468 Depends in great measures on the distribution of landed property, 470 Poverty, an obstacle to, 471. Celibacy of the clergy, 473 Persecution for religion, 475 Annuities for lives, 476 All the means which make a state prosper tend to promote population, 478.
- Porcelain*, is supposed by count Caylus to be invented by the ancient Egyptians, ii 326 It's qualities defined, 327 The several kinds of, and their distinguishing characteristics, *ibid* How coloured, 330 Where manufactured, 331 The best European imitations of this ware made in Saxony, 332 Character of French and English porcelain, *ibid* Comparison between the Chinese and European porcelain, 334 Successful attempt of count Laurigais to manufacture porcelain, 335 Account of the manufacture at Sèvres, *ibid* Properties of the earth of Limoges, 336.
- Port au Prince*, on the island of St Domingo, inquiry whether this district be proper for the situation of the capital of the French settlements there, iv 445 The town destroyed by an earthquake, but rebuilt on the same spot, 447.

- Pert-Royal*, in Jamaica, account of it's destruction by an earthquake, v 64
- Porto Bello*, unwholesomeness of the climate there, iii 157 Extensive trade carried on there between Europe and South America, 158 Brief history of this traffic to it's decline, 159
- Porto Rico* first discovery of that island, and landing of Prince de Leon there, iv 196 Is peculiarly favourable to the growth of the manchineel tree, 199 The natives make an experiment to try if the Spaniards were immortal, 200 - But are reduced, *ibid* Description and present state of the island, 201 Number of inhabitants and produce, 202 Hints for further improvement of the island 204
- Portuguese* were the first European nation that attempted maritime discoveries, i 26 The island of Madeira discovered by, 30 Their first expeditions to Africa, 36 Voyage of Vasco de Gama to the East Indies, 37 90 Obtain a papal grant of all their eastern discoveries 92 Voyage of Alvarez Cabrel *ibid* Establish an Eastern trade to Lisbon, 93 Their motives to seizing the island of Socotora, 106 Extensive schemes of Albuquerque, 109 The city of Ormus taken, 114 Malacca reduced, 122 Submission of the neighbouring kingdoms, 124 Reflections on their Indian exploits under Albuquerque, 129. Are assisted against the Moors by Henry of Burgundy and his French knights, 130 The principles of the nation corrupted by their eastern conquests, 132. Send an ambassador to China, 133 His transactions there, 175 Their commanders treat the Chinese ill, and are checked, *ibid* Obtain a grant of the island Macao, 176 The empire of Japan discovered, 177 Review of their successes in the East, 182 Their settlements in Africa, 183 Treat the natives unjustly every where, 184 Their corruption and profligacy, 185 Wise administration of Don Juan de Castro, 187 A general confederacy of the Indian powers formed against them, 192 Are protected by the vigilance of Ataide, 193 State of national affairs on the death of king Sebastian 197 Detail of the causes that effected the ruin of their affairs in India, 198 The present state of their oriental connexions 201 General review of their ambitious plans of conduct in the East ii 386 First discovery of Brazil, iii 313 Which is despised and made a receptacle for felons, 315. Hereditary antipathy between the Portuguese and Spaniards, *ibid* Account of the inquisition, 316 Grants made in Brazil to Portuguese noblemen 318 The natives there civilized by the Jesuits 329 Brazil overrun by the Dutch 336 The duke of Braganza placed upon the throne of, 348 Brazil recovered 352 Disputes with Spain about the boundaries of their colonies 366 An exclusive company formed for the wine trade 372 The Brazil trade subjected to a monopoly. 373 Impositions by which that province is depressed, 421 Decline of the kingdom, and it's distant settlements, 425 Cause of the

connexion between Portugal and England, 428. Nature of the trade with England, *ibid.* Degeneracy of the Portuguese, owing to the dependance they are sunk under to England, 432. The first step necessary toward their recovery, *ibid.* Articles proper for them to cultivate, 435. Remarks on the discouragements of their wine trade, 436. Are mistaken in their measures for restoring the culture of corn, 438. Number of the people, and amount of the revenue, *ibid.* All reformation ineffectual until their clergy are reduced to subordination to the civil power, 447. The fear of incensing England ought not to protract their establishing good regulations, 448. Ought not to submit to be protected, 449. Must fall, if they will not cultivate a naval strength, 450. Might have made a good advantage of the destruction of Lisbon, 451. Account of the settlements on the coast of Africa, iv 90 Their East India discoveries and conquests occasion them to neglect arts and agriculture, vi. 405.

Potatoes plant described, iv. 156.

Potosi, the silver mines there, when and how discovered, iii. 139. Their produce at different periods of time, *ibid.*

Poverty of a people, a check to their population, vi 471.

Prayer, the origin of, vi 251.

Press, reflections on the liberty of, iii. 533. Particularly in Great Britain, vi. 303.

Priesthood, the sole principle by which they are actuated, vi. 331. The hierarchy of, in the Christian church traced, 333.

Printing, importance of this art to mankind, vi. 547.

Privileges, personal, resulting from professional character, reflections on, ii. 474.

Pross, flying, of the Marianne islands, described, ii. 528.

Property, reflections on the origin and abuse of, iv. 357 v 38. The right of a man to make a testamentary disposition of his estate inquired into, v. 295. The possessions of, precarious in civilized society, 361. A community of, a most dangerous doctrine, vi 5 The unequal distribution of, the foundation of two irreconcilable parties in society, 133.

Protestants, review of the persecution of, by Lewis XIV. in France, v. 269

Providence, island of, how first settled, v. 77. A colony established there by captain Woodes Rogers, 78.

Prussians, military character of, vi 381. See *Frederic III.*

Ptolemy, why he fixed the first meridian at the western part of the Canary islands, ii 409

Pulaccondor, the English settlement there destroyed by their own Macassar soldiers, i 388.

Punishments, capital, remarks on the injury done to society by them, i. 405.

Puritans, origin of that appellation in England, v. 348. Emigrate to North America, 349 430.

I N D E X

Purple dye, peculiar kind of, celebrated by the ancients, found on the coasts of Guayaquil and Guatimala, in 116.

Q

Quakers, persecuted in New England, v 434 Origin of the sect, vi 6 Their distinguishing dress and behaviour, 7 Their morals, 8 Their contempt for religious rites, *ibid* Occasion of their name, 9 Multiply under persecution, *ibid* The prudence of their peaceable maxims examined, 29 Speech of one in America, censuring the custom of retaining Negroes in slavery, 121

Quebec, the capital of Canada, founded, v 146 Ineffectual siege of, in 1690, by the English, 194 The city described, 292 Is finally taken by the English, 329

Quicksilver, where found in Europe, iii 142 Where found in Peru, 143 Description of the mines at Guanica Velica, *ibid*. The working in these mines pernicious to the constitution, 144. The air in the vicinity of them unwholesome, *ibid* Consumption of, in the gold and silver mines, 145

Quimoffe, a diminutive people on the island of Madagascar, described, ii 16

Quito, in Peru, the province described, iii 90 Circumstances that moderate the heat of the torrid zone, *ibid* Purity of the air, and uniform beauty of the climate, 91 Is the most populous part of the American continent, *ibid* Produce and manufactures, 92 Bark the only article of produce exported, 93 Profligate manners of the inhabitants of the city of Quito, 97

R

Raguidas, governor of Cabulistan, stimulates Babar to the conquest of Indostan, ii 117 Remonstrances of a Banian to him on this event, 118

Rajahputs, mountaineers who continually harass the Indostan government, account of, ii 133

Raleigh, Sir Walter, his expedition to Guiana, iv 330 His character, v 338 His expedition to Carolina, *ibid*

Rits, great ravages made by, in the Caribbee islands, iv 152 Of Canada described, v 198

Red Sea, a geographical description of i 108 Advantages resulting to Europe from the Portuguese obtaining the command of this sea, 110 Measures taken by the English to improve their trade in that sea, 410

Reformed religion in Europe, rise of, i 209.

Religion, the sources of, vi 250. The natural progress of, 258 The true tendency of its precepts 557

Republics, a view of the administration of government in, vi 368

I N D E X.

- A secret conspiracy carried on by all monarchies against free states, 369.
- Revel*, a much better station for the naval forces of Russia than Cronstadt and Petersburg, ii. 307.
- Revenue*, royal, no measure of the power of an empire, vi. 490. The custom of farming out revenues ruinous to a state, 491.
- Revolutions* in human affairs, whether of utility to mankind, i. 2.
- Rhubarb*, the root and it's qualities described, ii. 348. Where produced, and how prepared, 349. The several kinds of, *ibid*.
- Rice*, the different kinds of, cultivated in China, i. 138. How cultivated on Madagascar, ii. 15. Botanical description of that plant, vi. 67. The cultivation of, injurious to the healthiness of a country, 68. Is successfully cultivated in South Carolina, 69.
- Rio Janeiro*, the government of, in Brazil, described, ii. 397. The sugar cane, indigo, and coffee cultivated there, *ibid*. The capital city described, 398.
- Roads*, the state of, every where, indicative of the degree of civilization of the natives, vi. 279.
- Roanoke Bay*, in Carolina, first attempt of the English to form a settlement there, v. 338.
- Romans*, ancient, their motives for seizing the island of Sicily, i. 7. Why inferior to the Greeks in the cultivation of arts and sciences, 8. The final overthrow of the empire, how favoured, 9. The subversion of the ancient empire of, attributed primarily to Wodin the Scythian chief, ii. 198. The liberty of, originally destroyed by Cato the elder, vi. 243. Review of the history of, with a character of the Romans, 267. The feudal system formed on the ruins of the empire, 268 314. Why inferior to Greece in the fine arts, 523. Character of the Roman literature, *ibid*. The fine arts expelled on the subversion of the empire, 526. And driven back again from Constantinople, 528.
- Rome*, modern, origin of the ecclesiastical empire of, i. 12. Character of, in the fifteenth century, 26. Rise of it's ecclesiastical power, vi. 255. Leading causes of the reformation, 256. The discovery of America instrumental to it's decline, 259. Historical account of the rise of papal dominion, 333. Circumstances that combined to divert the pope of his temporal power, 342.
- Rosas*, commandant of New Mexico, takes refuge in England from the persecutions of the monks, ii. 479.
- Rum*, how procured from the sugar-cane, iv. 172.
- Russia*, the extended conquests of this empire alarm the Chinese, ii. 288. The boundaries settled, *ibid*. A commercial treaty made with China, 289. Method of conducting the trade with China, 290. An attempt made to, open a communication between Siberia and India, 291. Carry on an intercourse with India by means of the Caspian Sea, 292. Extent of this empire, 296. Account of the different classes of the Russian people, 296.

I N D E X.

ple, *ibid.* State of population, 297. Public revenue, 298. Climates and agriculture, 299. Mines, *ibid.* Foreign trade, 300. Obstacles to the improvement of trade, 301. Debts owing to foreigners not easily recovered, 302. Military strength of the empire, 303. Natural circumstances that protect the empire on all sides, 304. Measures taken by Peter I. to raise a marine, 306. Inconveniences of the harbour of Cronstadt, *ibid.* Present state of the imperial navy, 308. Reflection on the government of, *ibid.* Patriotic principles of the government of the present empress Catharine, 310. Farther regulations suggested for the improvement of this empire, 312. Inquiry whether the climate of that extensive empire is favourable to civilization, vi. 277. It's extension considered, 278. The lower class of people not prepared for the reception of liberty, 279. Their ignorance and superstition, 280. Examination of the measures pursued by the empress Catharine to civilize her subjects, 281. The foundling hospital, 282. The academies, *ibid.*

S

- Saba*, the island, inhabitants, and produce, described, iv. 250.
Sable, of Canada, described, v. 199.
Sacrifices, the origin of, vi. 251.
Saffi, account of the port of, in Barbary, iv. 34.
Sage, the natural history and uses of, i. 127.
Sabara, deserts of, in Africa, described, iv. 51.
Saints, three islands dependant on Guadaloupe, account of, iv. 405.
Salcedo, Joseph, hanged for d sinterested good nature, iii. 141.
Sallee, in Barbary, account of that port, iv. 34.
Salfette island, is reduced by the English, i. 448. Described, *ibid.*
Salt, qualities of that made in Portugal, iii. 436. Is a specific against the poison of the nbranchireel tree, iv. 199.
Salt-petre, how produced and refined at Patna in Indostan, i. 490. The amount and rate of the European export of this article, 491.
Salvadore, St. the capital of Brazil, built, iii. 329. Is taken by the Dutch, 336. Is surrendered by them, 337. The city described, 392. Manners of the inhabitants, *ibid.*
San Salvador, one of the Bahama islands, discovered by Columbus, ii. 414. Friendly intercourse between him and the natives, *ibid.*
Sanctuaries, ecclesiastical, for criminals, reflections on, ii. 475.
Sanders-tree, a botanical d-scription of, with it's uses, i. 436.
Sandrocotus, drives the Macedonians out of India, and unites all Indostan under his dominion, ii. 115.
Santa Cruz, the island of, described, iv. 298. Revolutions of, *ibid.* Rapid progress and decay of a French colony there, 299. Causes of it's decay explained, 300. Is so'd to Denmark, *ibid.*
Present

I N D E X.

- Present state of it's cultivation, 301. Number of inhabitants, *ibid.*
- Santa Fe de Bogota*, the capital city of New Grenada, described, iii. 89.
- Saratoga*, capture of the British army under General Burgoyne there, by the American General Gates, vi. 207
- Sassafras tree*, botanical description of, vi. 63. It's properties and uses, *ibid.*
- Saxony*, the best European imitation of porcelain carried on there, ii. 332
- Schah Abbas the Great*, King of Persia, a review of his victories and administration of government, i. 373. Unites his forces with the English to drive the Portuguese from Ormus, 374
- Scheeks*, a nation of Indian republicans, described, ii. 134
- Schilderop*, an agent of the Danish African Company, his amiable character, iv. 99
- Scots Highlanders*, their character, vi. 63.
- Scythians*, driven out of their native country by Pompey, overrun the north and west parts of Europe, ii. 198 Their leader, Wodin, excites all nations against the Roman empire, *ibid.* See *Tartary*.
- Seals* of Canada, described, v. 303. Manner of taking them, 304. Uses of their skins, *ibid.*
- Sea*, it's use in preserving an equipose in the several parts of the globe, v. 350. The agitations of, calmed by oil, 400
- Seamen*, their unjust treatment in England and other countries condemned, vi. 401. Their character displayed, 569
- Secresy* in politics, may be of temporary advantage, but tends to certain ruin, ii. 233.
- Senegal river*, described, iv. 78
- Serena*, a Spanish settlement in Chili, account of, iii. 175
- Seringham*, account of that island and it's magnificent pagoda, ii. 130. Is given up by the French, 140.
- Serre Leone*, on the coast of Africa, state of the trade carried on there, iv. 80
- Sbanserst*, language of Indostan, some account of, i. 53
- Siam*, a detail of the trade carried on there by the Dutch, i. 256 Occasion of the French entering that kingdom, ii. 49 All the fertility and riches of the soil destroyed by the tyranny of the government, 51. The French interest there ruined by the errors of the Jesuits, 54.
- Sicily*, how the arts of agriculture and commerce were introduced into that island, i. 7
- Silk*, how collected in Bengal, and it's qualities, i. 480 491. The Chinese account of the discovery of, ii. 336 Introduction of the manufacture into Europe, 337. Qualities of the several kinds of European silk, *ibid.* The silk from China superior to that of Europe, 338. The two principal kinds of Chinese silk, 339. Character of the Chinese manufactured silks 340

- Skin*, inquiry into the cause of the black colour of, in Negroes, iv. 42.
- Slave trade* in Guinea, historical account of, iv. 71. Method of conducting them to the European factories, 74. The coasts frequented for this traffic, 76. Amount of the annual exportation of, with the rates at which they are purchased, 92. With what kinds of merchandise the slaves are bought, 94. Origin of the English African Company, 97. Annual amount of the English slave trade, 98. A Danish African Company formed, 99. Spanish attempts to enter into the slave trade, 101. Remarks on the present state and method of carrying on this trade, 102. The proper seasons for the voyage, 103. How disposed of in America, 105. Stories illustrating the character of Negroes, 106. Their vindictive spirit under oppression, 110. Their wretched condition in America, 111. Their different situation in extensive and in confined colonies, 112. Their different treatment by different European nations compared, 113. Their disorders, 114. Methods of cure, 115. Hints for rendering their condition more supportable, 118. Are strongly affected by music, 119. Plantation born Negroes the most useful, 122. Female Negroes, why loved by Europeans, 124. How this trade might be abolished, 144.
- Slavery*, feudal, how abolished, i. 19. Defined, iv. 124. Origin and progress of, *ibid.* Feudal slavery, 128. Emancipation of towns, 129. Cruel oppressions of the feudal barons, 130. How villains recovered personal freedom, 131. Origin of leases for years and lives, 132. Sovereigns how induced to undermine the chain of feudal subordination, *ibid.* Slavery begun in America, when destroyed in Europe, 133. Slaves transported from Africa to America, *ibid.* Freedom and slavery compared, 134. The right of man over man inquired into, 135. The arguments pleaded to justify slavery examined, 136. Hints for abolishing slavery in America, 144. It's influence over the mind in the Turkish empire, vi. 273.
- Smuggling*, the great support of the French American settlements, iv. 442. 514. A relaxation of prohibitory laws recommended, 514. The natural consequence of oppressive laws, vi. 141.
- Scarez*, Lopez, succeeds Albuquerque in the viceroyalty of India, and prosecutes his plans, i. 132.
- Society*, barbarous and civilized, compared, i. 275. v. 359. The progress of, traced, ii. 314. Monastic, the nature of, investigated, v. 207. Evidences of man being formed and destined for association, vi. 260. The various revolutions of, 264. All the obligations of man have a reference to, 552.
- Socotora*, motives of the Portuguese in seizing this island, i. 106.
- Socrates*, his character, vi. 536. Separated morality from religion, 551.
- Soul*, whether it's vegetative powers can be exhausted by cultivation, v. 103.

I N D E X.

Soldiers, the great increase of, in Europe, the source of oppressions, by the increase of taxes, vi 384. Their being kept in idleness, another evil, *ibid.* The number of soldiers has diminished courage, 385. The increase of, tends to despotism, 387.

South, the people of, appear to be born for despotism, vi 318.

South Sea, the several restraints laid upon the navigation of, by the Spaniards, ii 545. First discovery of, by Balboa, iii. 8.

South Sea Company. English, established, iii 301.

Sousa, Thomas de, his generous release of a female slave to her lover, i, 196.

Spain, the state of, when the several provinces were united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, i. 21.

Contests between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, concerning the property of American and Asiatic discoveries, ii 260. Sends missionaries to the Philippine islands, 262. Review of their government and policy there, 265. Remarks on the importance of these islands by proper management, 270. Inquiry into the cause of the antipathy the Spaniards have to the French, 275. Their plan of dominion in the East, suspended by the treasures they enjoy in America, 369. Manners of the ancient natives of, 403. Is subdued by the Carthaginians, 405. Is reduced under the power of the Romans, *ibid.* Is subjected by the Goths, and afterwards by the Moors, 406. The kingdom of Castile and Arragon united, 407. Columbus fitted out for the discovery of a new continent, 409. Their settlement and cruelties on the island of St. Domingo, 419. Their successes in America greatly facilitated by the Indian women, 433. Conquest of Mexico by Cortez, 438.

Conquest of Peru by Pizarro, iii. 18. Review of the regulations established in this province, 41. Trade carried on with South America, at Porto Bello, 158. The Spaniards a mixed race in all parts of the world, 189. Review of the forms of government established in Spanish America, 239. Ecclesiastical government of the colonies, 240. Distribution of lands there, 242. Taxes imposed on the colonies, 247. Summary view of the revenues derived from America, 252. The Spanish court actuated by a spirit of monopoly in the administration of her colonies, 253. Reason why she persevered in an erroneous system, 255. Decline of manufactures and agriculture at home, in consequence of acquiring American possessions, 257. These misfortunes voluntarily aggravated by the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, 258. Consequences of this infamous conduct, 260. Oppression of the farmers, 261. The operation of the inquisition on the character of the Spaniards, 264. Their poverty and pride, 266. Degeneracy of manners, *ibid.* Distress of the Spanish monarchy, 267. Depopulation of America, 268. Probable causes of the barbarity exercised toward the Indians, 269. Great destruction of lives in the mines, 271. Hatred between the European and American Spaniards, 273. Indica-

- tions of a recovery from these calamitous influences, 274: The administration of the colonies reformed, 275. Measures recommended for the recovery of the kingdom to prosperity, 276. A proper turn should be given to the national pride, 277. The clergy and military ought to be reduced, and the inquisition abolished, 278. Toleration in religion necessary to increase the population of the kingdom, 283. Impossible for Spain to keep the produce of the American mines in their own hands, 284. Amount of their exportation, 286. Amount of the gold and silver imported from the American mines, *ibid.* Agriculture ought to be promoted, 288. Articles proper for American cultivation, *ibid.* Ought to open the colonies to foreigners, 290. The objections against an open trade with America, considered, 297. Whether the Spanish dominion over the colonies be permanent, 299. Present flourishing state of the kingdom, 308. Outrages committed by Philip II. and his successors, against the Portuguese, 347. Disputes with Portugal about the boundaries of their American settlements, 366. Why they relinquish the conquest of the Caribbee Islands, 480. Their violent measures to check the contraband trade in the West Indies precipitate them into war, 530. Engage with France in a war with Great Britain, 560. Loss of Havannah, 566.

The expulsion of the Moors from Spain, the producing cause of the piratical states of Barbary, *iv.* 37. Attempts made by, to obtain a share of the African slave trade, 101. Account of the Spanish settlements on the island of St. Domingo, 207. Description of Cuba, 215. Examination into their policy and management of the Caribbee Islands, 238.

Fate of a Spanish colony sent to settle in Louisiana, *v.* 254. The reports circulated by the Spaniards concerning the Strait of Anian, supposed to be artfully propagated to mislead other nations, 381. Account of the expedition of Admiral Fuentes, *ibid.*

The king of, offers his mediation between England, France, and America, *vi.* 234. And, on refusal, joins with the two latter in the war against England, 236. Political commotions excited by the disputed succession to the crown of Spain, 360. Brief history of the famous armada for the conquest of England, 390. Their West India discoveries occasion the neglect of arts and agriculture, 406.

Spice trade, measures pursued by the Dutch to secure the monopoly of, *i.* 231. 238.

Stadtholder, of the United Provinces, whether this office be dangerous to the liberties of the Dutch, *vi.* 311.

Stamp act, over the British American colonies, origin of, *vi.* 150. Causes of it's repeal, *ibid.*

Statesmen, how formed in general, *vi.* 366. Their usual conduct, 368.

Statues, reflection on the folly of erecting them, and the vanity of princes in procuring them to be erected, *ii.* 207.

Subabs, under the Indostan empire, the nature of their dignity and authority, ii. 124.

Suez, a communication established from that port with the East Indies, by the Venetians, i. 106

Sugar cane described, and it's history, iv. 165. Method of cultivation, 166. The juice how separated from the cane, 168.

Process of obtaining sugar from this juice, *ibid*. French method of preparing sugar, 169. Qualities of sugar depending on the soil it grows on, 171. Distillation of rum, 172. Hints for improving the cultivation of the cane, *ibid* Sugar the principal article of exportation from the Caribbee Islands, 174. Requires considerable capitals to cultivate it with success, 241. Culture of, at Barbadoes, v. 23

Sugar-maple Tree described, vi. 98. Method of procuring it's sap, *ibid* How the sap is reduced to sugar, *ibid*.

Sully, minister of Henry IV of France, his character as a financier, ii. 79

Sumatra, situation and description of that island, i. 249 Religion and government of the southern Malay inhabitants, 250 Account of the northern inhabitants, 251. Description of the camphor tree, *ibid*. The face of the country, and its mineral productions, 253. Trade carried on there by the Dutch, 254

Superstition, monkish, characterized, i. 11. Natural events of an extraordinary kind, one great source of, ii. 437. iii. 279. It's universality and object, v. 136

Surat, it's situation, and the trade carried on there described, i. 409 Revolutions there, 444 Is intended by the French to be the centre of their Eastern traffic, ii. 27. Origin and progress of that city, 31. The ships built there, *ibid*. Manners of the inhabitants, 32. Bapians, *ibid* Persees, 34. Moguls, 36. Is pillaged by Sevirgi, 43. Their ships and caravans robbed, *ibid*. Principal articles of the trade of the city, 44. This market lost to the French, 63

Surinam, it's situation and settlement described, iv. 261. It's revolutions, *ibid*. A colony of fugitive slaves formed there, 263 Their independence acknowledged by the Dutch, *ibid* Dutch method of draining the low grounds in, 265. Their coffee and sugar plantations, 266. Their accurate and neat agriculture, 267. Produce of the colony, 268. Number of inhabitants, *ibid*. Account of the town of Paramabiro, 269 Taxes, *ibid* Defensive state of the province, 280 Cruelty of the Dutch to their Negro slaves, 281. Are harassed by the incursions of the fugitive slaves, *ibid*

Susa, in the regency of Tunis, it's harbour described, iv. 23.

Sweden, the ancient inhabitants of, concerned with other northern nations in subverting the Roman empire, ii. 226 Barbarous manners of the natives until the time of Gustavus Vasa, *ibid*. Ill consequences of his stirring his posts against the Lubeck ships, 217.

I N D E X.

227. Martial spirit diffused by Gustavus Adolphus, 228. Change in the manners of the people on the death of Charles XII. *ibid.*
 An East India company established, 230. Historical review of, 231. Present state of the country, 234. Remarks on the population of, 235. Reflections on the propensity to emigration among the Swedes, 236. State of agriculture, 238. Mines, 239. Manufactories and fisheries, 240. A maritime strength tailed, 241. Review of the articles of trade, 242. Military force, 243. Navy, 245. Revenues, *ibid.* Evils resulting from the change made in 1720, in the constitution of government, 247. The factions of *Hats* and *Caps*, 248. The king rendered absolute, 249. Inquiry into the nature of the constitution of the government of, vi. 284
Switzerland, origin of the republic of, vi. 326. The nature of the union of the several cantons explained, 327. Occasion of their hiring out troops to foreign powers, 328. Review of their present circumstances, 329. Indications of stability in their government, 330. Their ecclesiastical government, 331.

T.

- Tabago*, description of that island, v. 90. It's revolutions, *ibid.* Is ceded to England, 93. Error committed by the first English settlers, 96. It's population and produce, *ibid.*
Tabasco, the Indians there reduced by Cortez, ii. 432.
*Talapoy*s, Siamese monks, described, ii. 54.
Tamerlane, his extensive conquests in the East, ii. 116.
Tanjour, description of that country and it's produce, ii. 202. A settlement formed there by the Danes, 203
Tar, how procured from the pine-tree in Carolina, vi. 66.
Tartary, ancient Scythia, it's extent and inhabitants, ii. 282. The great lama, and his religion, 283. Military character of the Tartars, 286. Conquer the empire of China twice, 287. Contests between the Russians and Chinese about the boundaries of the respective empires, 288. A trade established between the Tartars and the Russians, 291.
Taxes, how levied in China, i. 142. The great increase of, to be attributed to the increase of standing armies, vi. 384. A definition of, 479. An historical view of, 481. A poll-tax, the most arbitrary of all taxes, 482. Taxes on the necessaries of life, cruel, 483. Injuriousness of duties on trade, 484. A land tax the only one which conciliates the public interest with the rights of individuals, 485. The objections to it stated, 487. Ruinous consequences of farming out revenues, 490. Ought to be regulated by the representatives of the people, 492. Consequences from the right of imposing taxes being in the prince, 493. 506
Tea, the first introduction of this herb into England, and the universal fondness of the people for it, i. 500. Vast consumption of,

- of, in England, 501 Description and culture of, ii 321.
 The varieties of, how produced, 323 Why generally drank by
 the Chinese, 324 Attempts made to cultivate the plant in Eu-
 rope, 325
- Tellucherry*, on the coast of Malabar, an English factory for pepper
 there, ii 163 A composition paid for the country duties, 166
- Teneriffe*, description of that island, and the height of the moun-
 tain, ii 412
- Tetuan*, historical account of that port, iv 33
- Texeira*, Michael de, archbishop of St. Salvadore, harasses the
 Dutch invaders of Brazil iii 337
- Theocracy*, why the worst of all modes of government, i 433 The
 foundation of, vi 252
- Theology*, alters every thing, in order to bend them to it's own mys-
 terious principles, iv 43 Obstructs the discovery of truth by
 scruples, 49 The various principles on which it has been
 founded by different nations, vi 549 Morality the basis of
 all, 550
- Tibet*, the articles of trade taken by that kingdom from Bengal,
 i 477 Musk, a peculiar production to the country, *ibid* See
Tartary
- Thomas*, St the Danish settlement on the coast of Coromandel,
 historical account of, ii 48.
- the island of, settled by the Danes, iv 295 Is fre-
 quented by the Buccaneers, 296 Other circumstances that esta-
 blished a trade there, *ibid* Number of inhabitants, 301
- Tillage of land*, how far it will supply the place of dung, v 105
- Timor*, description of that island, and the motives that induced the
 Dutch to secure it, i 240
- Tiber*, establishment of, in England, v 344
- Tlascala*, republic of, opposes the march of Cortez to Mexico,
 ii 439 Account of the government and manners of the na-
 tives, 440 Make an alliance with the Spaniards, and reinforce
 their army, 441 Return of Cortez to Tlascala, 449 Manu-
 factures of this province, 511
- Tobacco*, historical account of it's consumption and trade in France,
 ii 153 First discovery, and description of this caustic plant,
 vi 35 Method of cultivating it, 36 Management of the
 plant after it is cut, 37 Comparison of the quality of tobacco
 from different parts of the world, *ibid* Is a great exhauster of
 soil, 40
- Toleration* the free exercise of, the means of extinguishing fanati-
 cism and enthusiasm, vi 258
- Tonquin*, the religion of Confucius adopted there, but not his mo-
 rality, ii 56 Character of the inhabitants, 57 No Eu-
 rop in merchants able to establish a correspondence with them,
 which is confined to the Chinese *ibid*
- Torrid zone*, formerly supposed to be uninhabitable, i 29 Cir-
 cumstances that moderate the heat of, iii 90

- Tertuga*, the island of, becomes a nest of pirates, iii 493. Their depredations chiefly directed to the Spaniards, 494. Some of their most remarkable exploits, 495. Description of the island, iv. 416. The colony destroyed, by orders from Madrid, 417. Is retaken and fortified by the Buccaneers, under the command of Willis, an Englishman, *ibid*. The English expelled by the French, 418. Produce of the island, 419.
- Towns*, how extricated from feudal obligations, iv. 129. See *Cities*.
- Trade*, how carried on, during the feudal ages, i. 16.
- Trajan*, emperor, his patriotic declaration to the Roman people, vi. 233.
- Tranquebar*, in the kingdom of Tanjour, built and settled by the Danes, ii 203. Declines, *ibid*. Is attacked by the rajah of Tanjour, at the instigation of the Dutch, but rescued by the English, 204. Present circumstances of the settlement, 216.
- Transmigration of souls*, the influence of this doctrine upon the civil laws of Indostan, i 60. Mythological account of, 78. Probable origin of the idea of, 79. Tends to soften the manners of it's believers, ii. 373.
- Transportation* of English felons, the good policy of, v. 13.
- Travelling*, an immoral employment, iii 325.
- Travancor*, on the coast of Malabar, account of that kingdom, and it's late enterprising monarch, i. 427.
- Treaties*, between princes, have not the validity of those formed between nations, vi 363.
- Trelawney*, governor of Jamaica, his treaty with the fugitive Negroes there, v. 70.
- Trinidad*, situation and climate of that island, iv. 190. It's extent and description, *ibid*. Decline of the island from the perishing of the cocoa trees, 191.
- Tripoli*, description of this country and it's inhabitants, iv. 18. Their trade, 19. Description of it's capital town, 20.
- Trois Rivières*, city of, in Canada, described, v 293.
- Tunis*, present state of it's military force, iv. 20. Revenue of the state, 21. Trade of the inhabitants, 22. Description of it's capital town, 24.
- Turks*, character of that people in the fifteenth century, i. 25. Their attempts on Europe checked by the naval enterprises of the Portuguese in the East, 110. Origin of their empire, and a review of their policy and history, vi. 269. Expedient of Solymán to suppress seditions & rebellions, 271. Causes of the little influence the Turkish princes have in the affairs of Europe, 272. Murder and assassination the substitutes for laws in Turkey, 273.
- Turkull*, Dr. carries over a colony of Greeks to Florida, vi 89.
- Turpentine*, how extracted from the pine tree, in Carolina, vi. 66.
- Tyranny*, the consequences of, in a state, iii. 37. The system of, analyzed v 8. Why it is submitted to, 361.

- Vacus*, intention of the law of, at Constantinople, iii. 152.
- Valdivia*, his expedition into Chili, iii. 172. He and his men destroyed by the natives, *ibid*.
- Valour*, why esteemed a virtue, vi. 553.
- Valparaiso*, city of, in Chili, described, iii. 175.
- Van Horn*, a Buccaneer, his intrepid character, iii. 508. Surprises Vera Cruz, *ibid*.
- Van Riebeck*, recommends a Dutch settlement to be made at the Cape of Good Hope, i. 271. Is intrusted with the management of it, *ibid*.
- Vané*, Henry, his enthusiastic character, and disturbances excited by him in New England, v. 436.
- Vanilla*, description of that plant, and it's culture, ii. 490. It's preparation and uses, 491.
- Varech*, a sea plant, used for manure in the Caribbee Islands, iv. 151.
- Varnish*, Chinese, natural history of, ii. 341. How used, 342. It's properties, 343.
- Vedan*, the sacred book of the Bramins of India, the source of many diversities relative to faith and practice, i. 66.
- Vega Real*, plain of, in the island of St. Domingo, recommended to the cultivation of the French, iv. 213.
- Velasquez*, forms a settlement on the island of Cuba, and prosecutes discoveries on the American continent, ii. 429. Commends Fernando Cortez to undertake the conquest of Mexico, 431. His perfidious method of obtaining slaves from Florida, vi. 82.
- Venezuela*, province of, in South America, it's history, productions, and trade, iii. 60. It's flourishing state under the Guipuscoa company, 64. It's imports and exports, 68.
- Venice*, it's early prosperity from the operations of commerce, i. 18. Obtains the Eastern trade through the channel of Egypt, 104. Measures taken by, to obstruct the Portuguese in their Indian enterprises, 105. Open a trade with India from the port of Suez in Egypt, 106. Account of the origin of the city and republic of, vi. 319. Was the first regular government formed in Europe, 321. It's decline to be dated from the discovery of America, *ibid*. It's mysterious policy and jealousy, 322. The office of state inquisitors, 323. Regulation of the naval and military commands, 325.
- Vera Cruz*, old and new, described, ii. 559. Account of the intercourse carried on there by the fleets from Old Spain, 560. Is surprized and pillaged by the Buccaneers, iii. 508.
- Verd Islands*, improvements of which they are capable, iii. 441. Description of, and their trade, iv. 79.

- Vernon*, Admiral, causes of his ill success in attacking Carthagena, iii 52
- Vicuna*, a wild animal in Peru, described, with the method of hunting it, iii 126 Their fleeces, 127 Uses to which their wool is applied, *ibid*
- Viera*, Juan Fernandez de, forms a conspiracy in Brazil to cut off the Dutch governors of that province, iii 350. His successes against them, *ibid* Expels the Dutch, 351
- Vieira*, Anthony, a Jesuit, his extraordinary sermon on the successes of the Dutch in Brazil, iii 340
- Villains*, feudal, how emancipated from personal slavery, iv 131.
- Vincent*, St. was one of the islands resigned to the native Caribs, by the English and French, v 97 Their number increased by an accession of Negroes, *ibid* Distinction between the black and red Caribs, 98 The Caribs harassed by the French, *ibid* Origin of the flat-headed Caribs, 99 War between the black and red Caribs, 100 The island ceded by the French to the English, 101 Present state of cultivation here, 103
- Vines*, remarks on the order for rooting them up in Portugal, iii 436
- Virgin Islands*, their number and description, v 41 Their produce and government, *ibid*
- Virginia*, it's advantages over Maryland vi 41 Dilation of the first adventurers to this province, 42 They are relieved and instructed by Lord Delaware, 43 Is strengthened by the arrival of a number of refugee royalists, 44 Is oppressed by a rigorous enforcement of the Act of Navigation, 45 Continue upon ill terms with the Indians, *ibid* Disagreements among the colonists, 46 The English laws, with all their formalities, introduced, 50 Admirable speech of Logan, chief of the Shawanees, to lord Dunmore, *ibid* The population of the country checked by persecuting principles, 52 Present number of inhabitants, *ibid* Chief produce and articles of cultivation, *ibid* Export of tobacco 53 Low state of Williamsbourg the capital town, 55 The inhabitants of this colony embarrass their circumstances by ostentatious luxury, *ibid* How they may extricate themselves from such difficulties, *ibid*
- Ukraine*, great fertility of that province, and means of improving it, ii 209
- Ul'sa*, M takes possession of Louisiana for the king of Spain, after the cession of by France, v 285
- Universe*, argument in favour of a preceding and ensuing eternity of, iii 109
- Volcanos*, the great antiquity of, indicated by the different stages of their present appearance, i 1. 108 Indication of, to be found every where in America, iv 258
- Weygers*, estimate of the good and evil produced by, vi. 267

W.

- Walpole*, Sir Robert, the English minister, remarks on
 nistraton, iii 530 534.
- War*, among the European nations, the real motives of, ii. 217.
 A formal declaration necessary for the commencement of, and
 remarks on the conduct of the English in neglecting this previous
 intimation of hostilities, iii. 542 v. 454. Origin of the laws
 of, iv. 196 Ancient and modern compared, v. 171. Always
 furnishes a pretence for the usurpations of government, vi. 150.
 The events of, often decided by accidental circumstances, 237.
 A prospect of it's extinction, 370 This prospect found to be
 a delusion, 372. Historical view of war as an art, 373.
 Infantry the most formidable in, *ibid.* Cause of the long wars
 between England and France, 374. Origin of standing armies
 in Europe, 375. War extended by this innovation, 377. The
 art of fortification invented by the Dutch, 379. A new system
 of tactics introduced by the king of Prussia, 380. War carried
 on now with more humanity than in ancient times, 383. The
 numbers of soldiers amazingly increased, while they are very
 poorly paid, 384 Soldiers ought to be usefully employed dur-
 ing peace, *ibid.* Historical review of the art of war upon the
 sea, 388. Improvements produced by the invention of the
 mariner's compass, 389. Short account of the Spanish armada,
 390 Commercial wars considered, 428 Destroys chiefly
 those turbulent men who are born with mischievous propensities,
 457.
- Warwick*, Admiral, commands the first fleet sent out by the Dutch,
 East India Company, i. 216. His contests with the Portuguese
 in the Indian seas, *ibid.*
- Washington*, General, heads the North American troops in the
 war against Britain, vi. 160.
- Welfers*, of Augsbourg, purchase the American province of Vene-
 zuela of the emperor Charles V iii. 60. Their imprudent ma-
 nagement, and desertion of the place, 61.
- Whale-fishery*, in Davis's Straights, and Greenland, account of,
 v. 312. Account of that carried on by New England, 447.
 Laws made in England for the encouragement of, *ibid.* The
 fishery in the Gulph of St. Laurence, 449
- William the Conqueror*, establishes the feudal government in Eng-
 land upon a regular, permanent footing, vi 295
- William III* elected king of England, and accepts the crown on
 stipulated conditions, vi. 298
- William*. Fort, in Bengal, described, i 487.
- Williamsburg*, the capital of Virginia, account of, vi. 55.
- Winds*, the general course, and natural causes of, in the West
 Indies, iii 467.

I N D E X

- Wodin*, the Scythian chief, excites the other European nations to fall upon the Roman empire, ii 198 Was the founder of a sanguinary system of religion, 200
- Wolfe*, General, killed at the siege of Qu-bec, v 330
- Women* laws of Indostan, relating to i 61 Causes why they often exercise sovereign power in savage nations ii 59 Their treatment in the different stages of human society described, iii 76 The virtue of the greatest importance to society, vi 360 The corrections of gallantry complete the depravation of manners, 363

A

- Xalapa* account of the fair there for the traffic with European and American commodities, ii 560.

Y.

- Yago*, St in the island of Chiloe, described, iii 177 Its government and jurisdiction, 178
- Yams*, the plant described, iv 156
- Yanam*, in the province of Rajahmandry, account of the French factory there ii 169
- Yaws*, a disorder incident to Negroes, described, with the method of cure, iv 115
- Yberville* is sent by the court of France on an expedition up the Mississippi, v 240 His death, 241
- York*, New See *New York*

Z

- Za'ar I*, land of, in Denmark, some account of, ii 30,

T H E E N D

DIRECTIONS to the BOOK-BINDER, for placing the MAPS and PLATES.

Map of the European Settlements in the East Indies,
to face Page 1. of the First Volume.

Map of the European Settlements in South America,
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Map of the European Settlements in the West Indies,
to face Page 1. of the Fourth Volume.

Map of the European Settlements in North America,
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